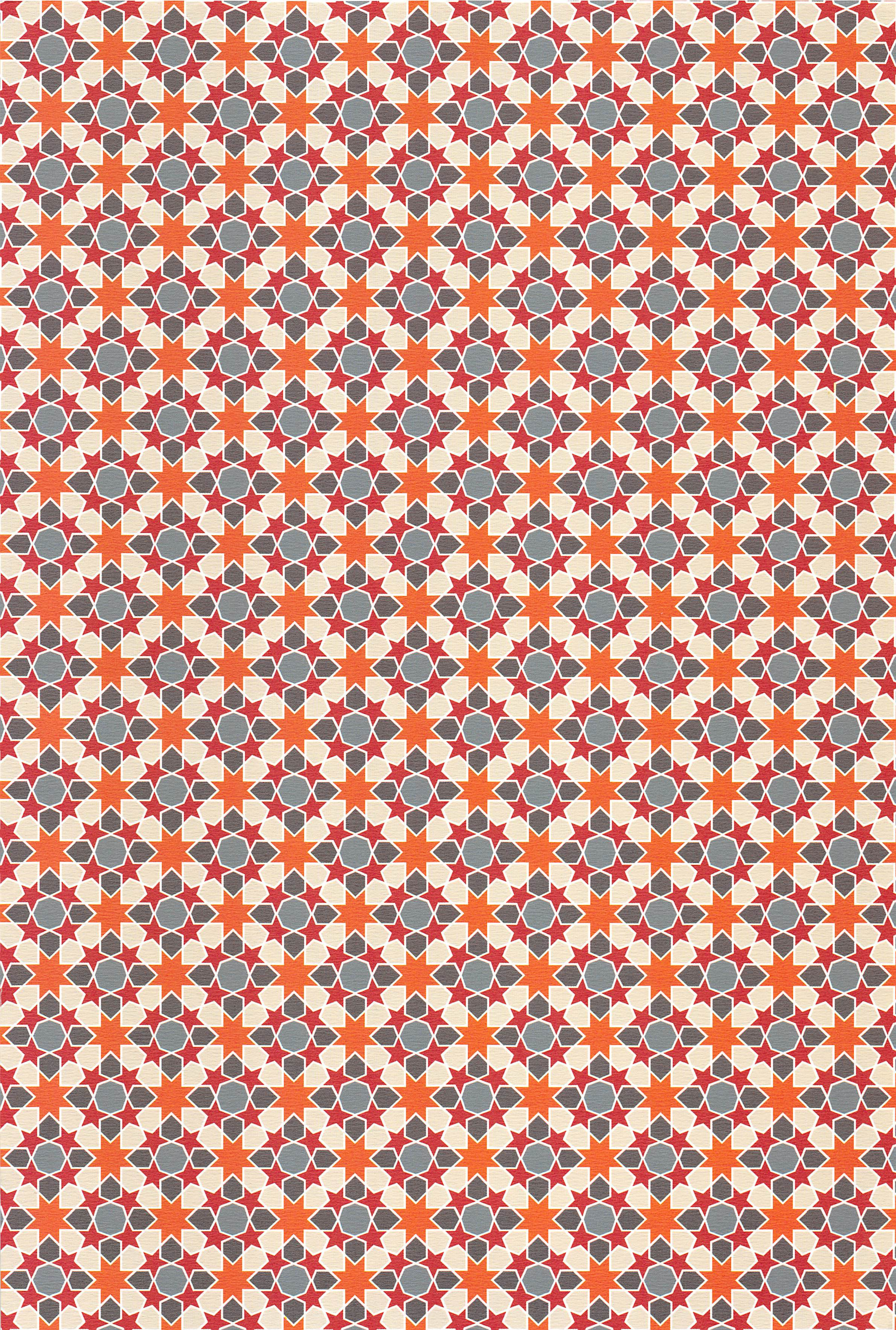
History & Heritage

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Issue 0, June. 2015

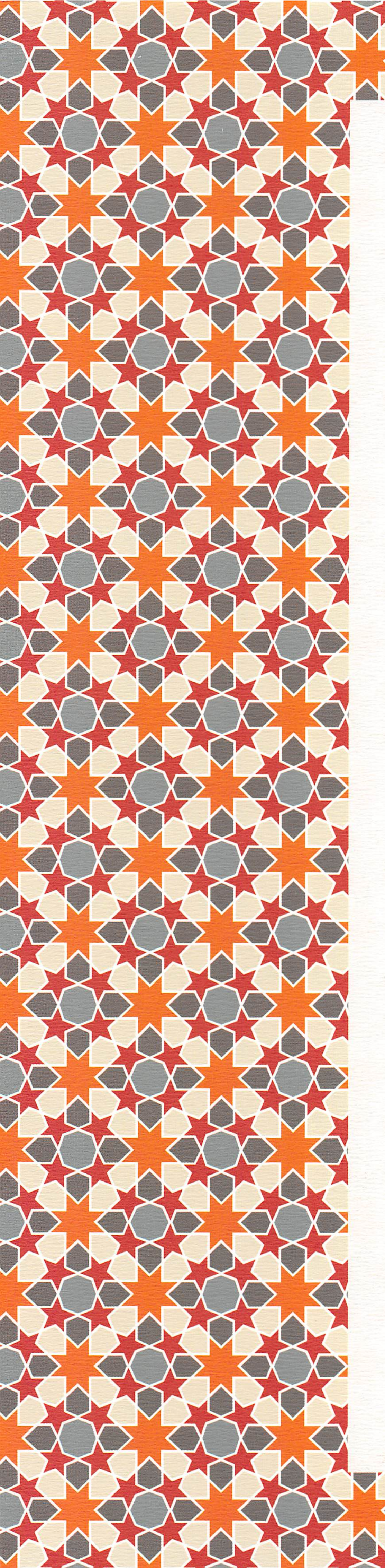


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3- References should be inserted automatically in sequential ordering.

4- Images and illustrations may be inserted provided that they are original, and the author shall obtain their publishing rights.

5- Terminologies of foreign languages should be written in their original language.

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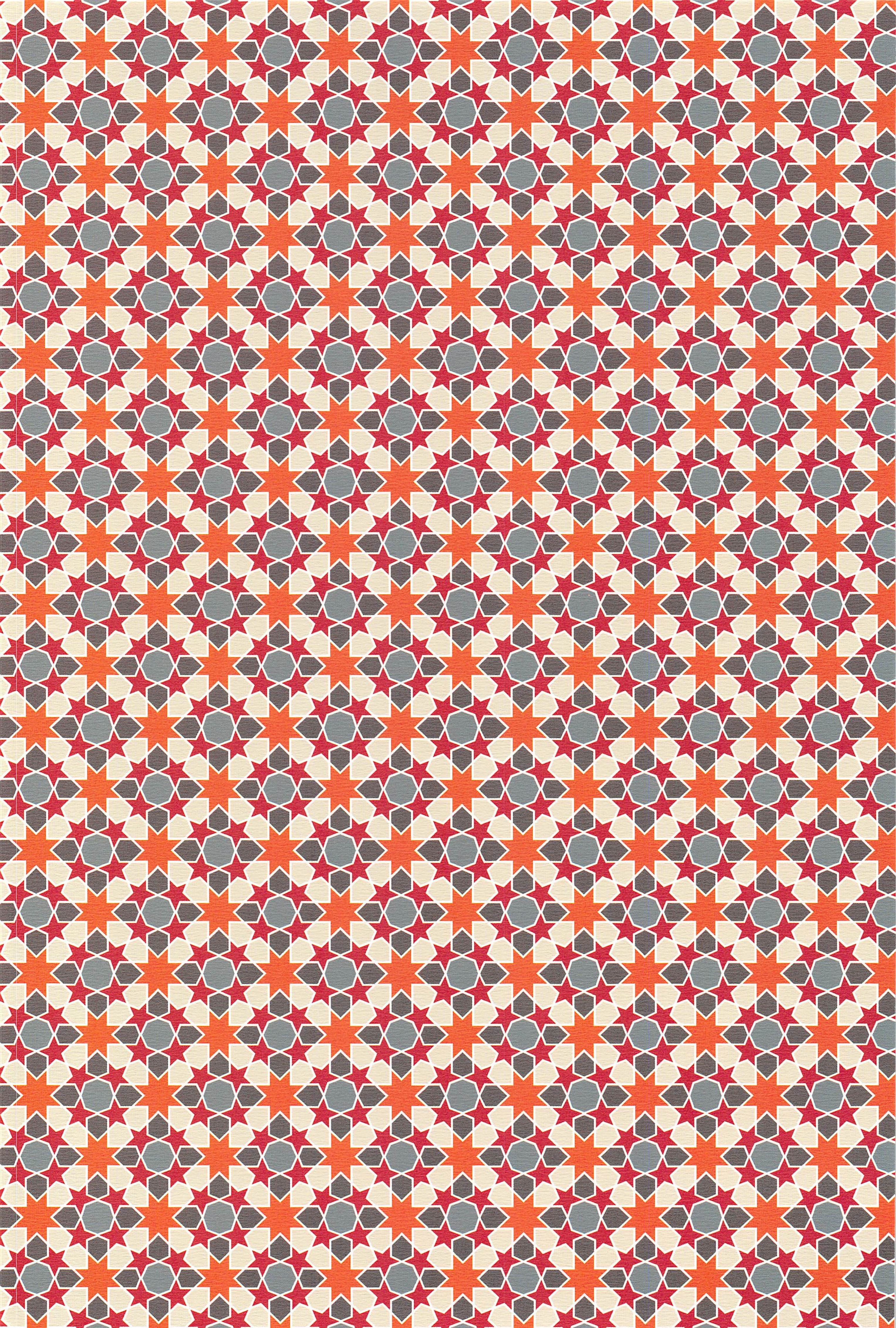
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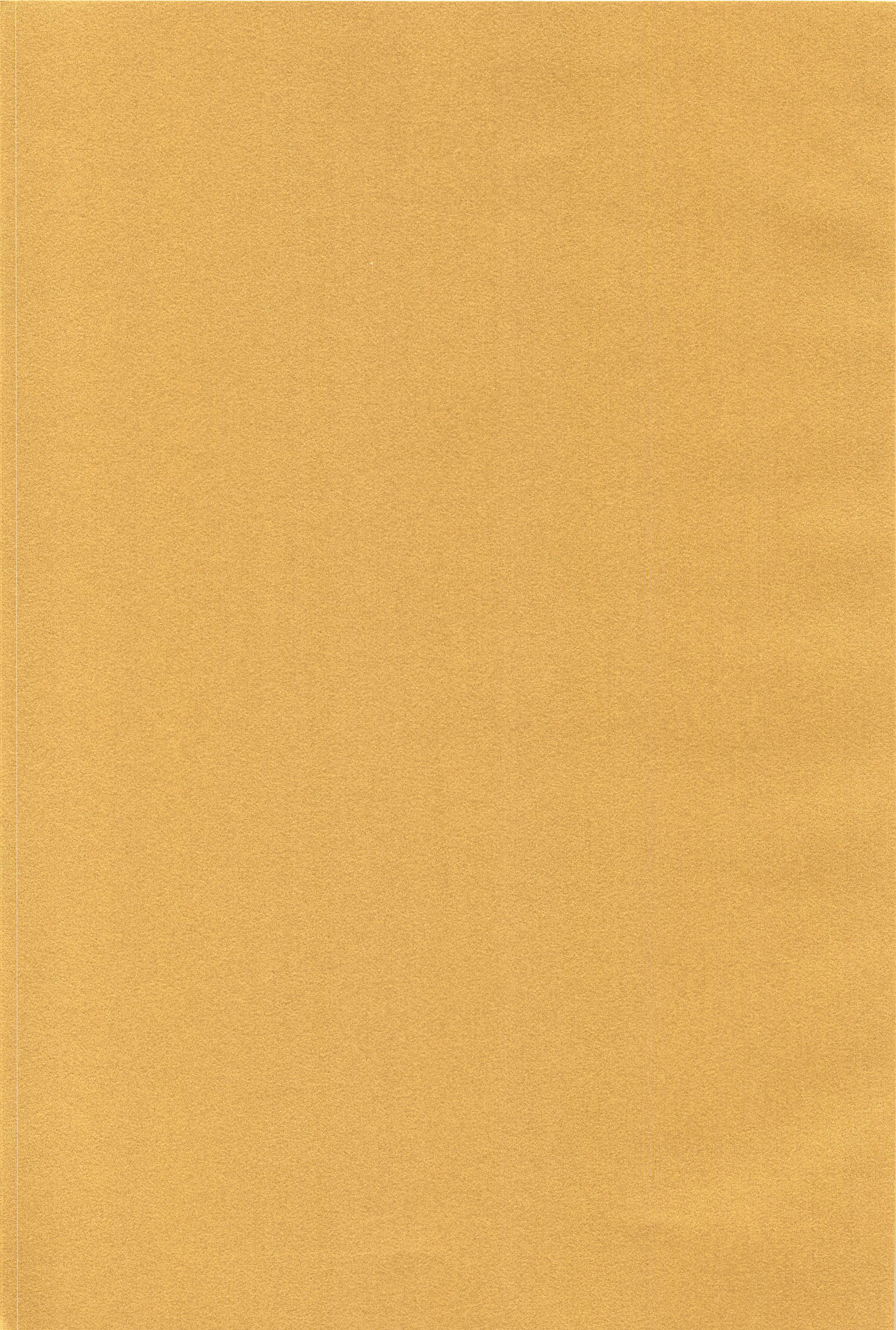
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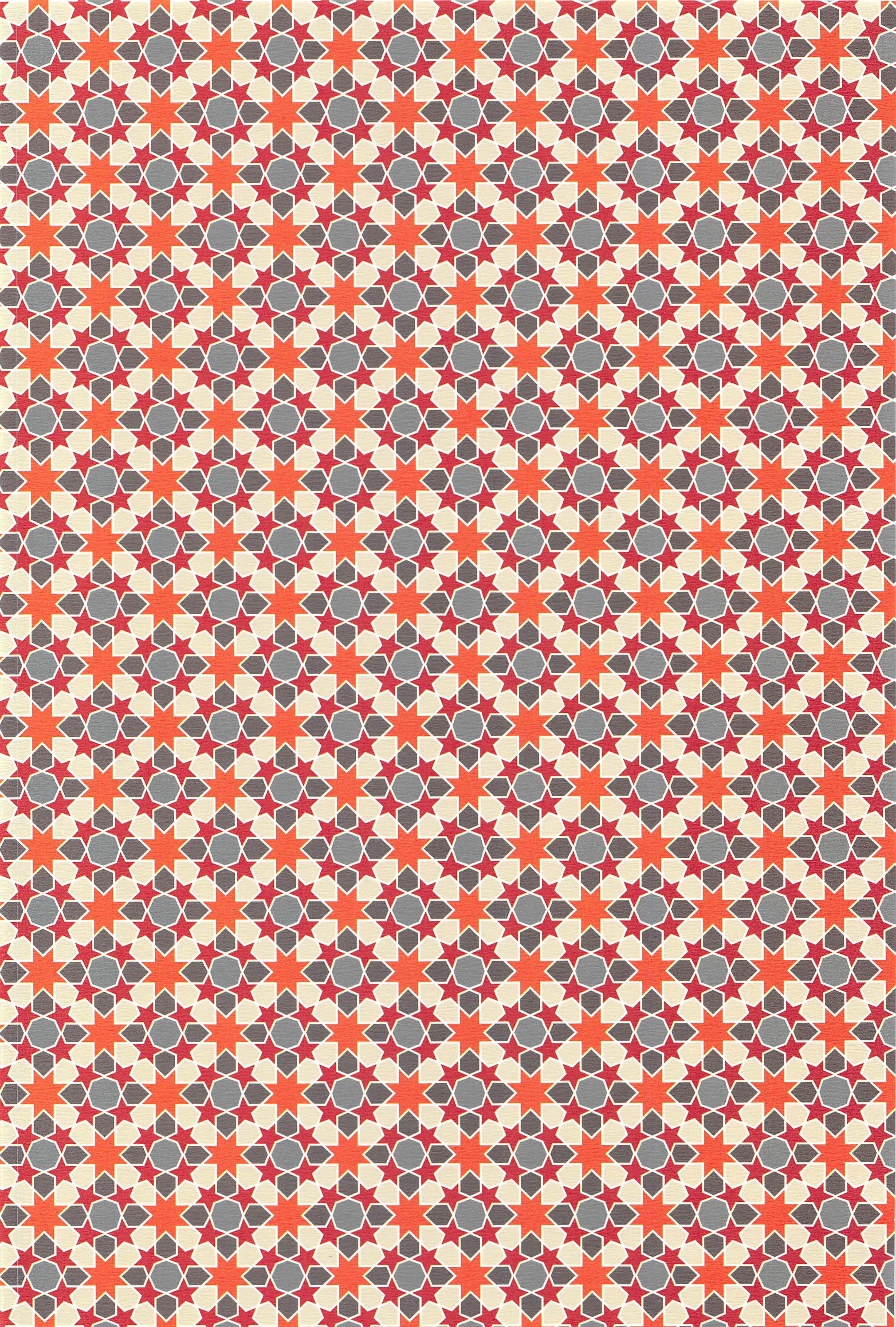
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VISION OF THE JOURNAL



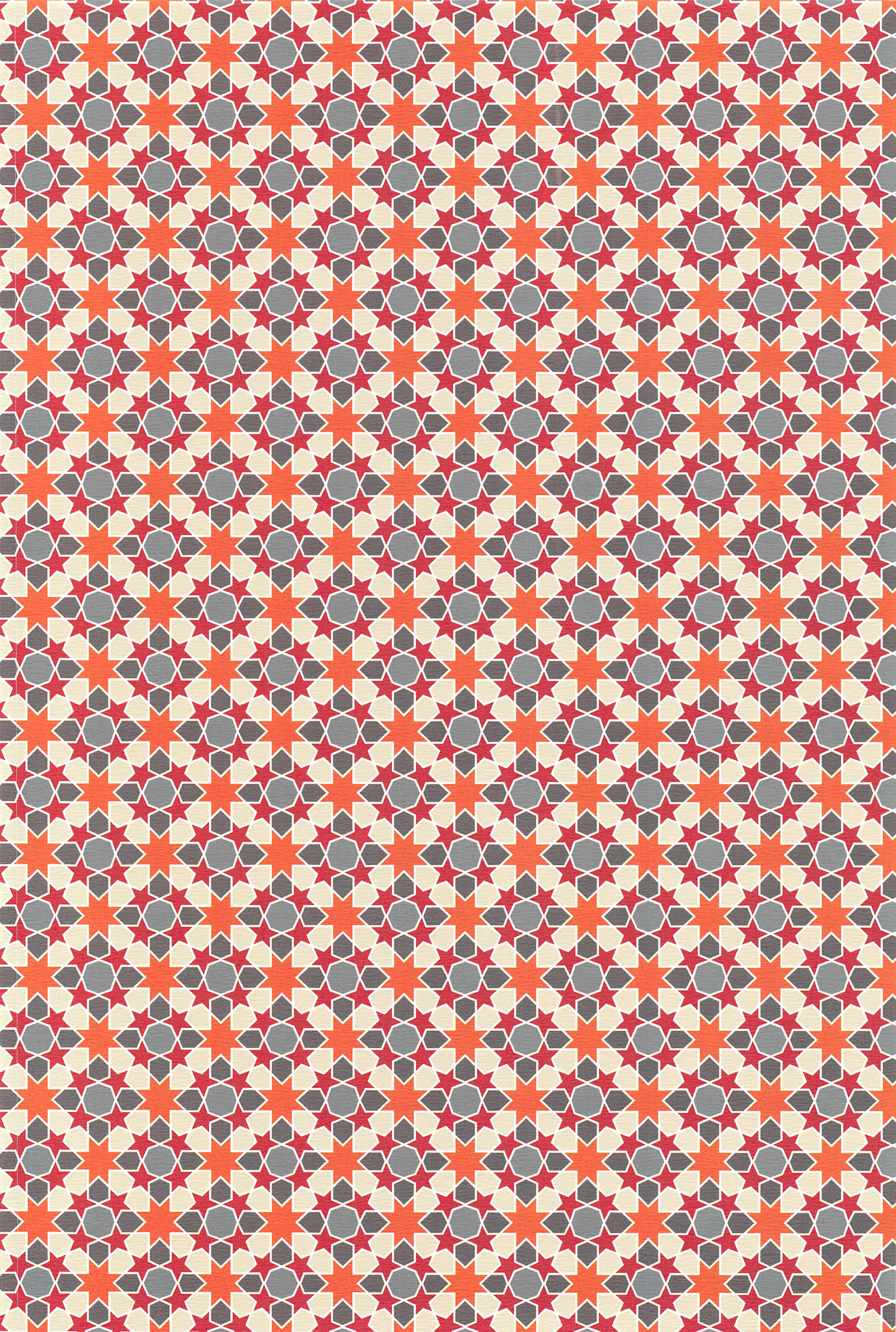
VISION OF THE JOURNAL

"Riwaq of History and Heritage" interacts positively with the variables of the age in fields of scientific research, as it consolidates similar outlets of humanitarian studies in pursuit of the renewed principle which proclaims that one science cannot stand alone on a stable ground without benefiting from other sciences.

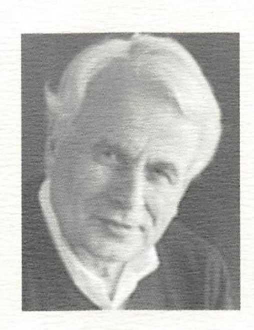
Considering this trend, the idea of combining history and heritage in Riwaq manifested itself owing to the similarity of their attributes without confusing the academic and cognitive significance of each one of them. While history is concerned with human activities, heritage is concerned with the legacy which those activities leave behind.

This becomes apparent through the topics chosen by the journal to be published in this issue, which cover aspects of economic history, historical maps, Ottoman documents, history and splendor of Arabic calligraphy, cultural consistence between heritage of illustrated Islamic manuscript,arts of written image,the different terminologies of the tent as an example of linguistic change, consequently, a question about heritage is raised whether is it the delusion of the present age.

The inaugural issue of Riwaq of History and Heritage is meant to be empirical as the Number Zero. In the future, we are looking forward to seeing special issues covering single topics in both history and heritage.



IMAGES OF QATAR C.1300-1772, A CARTOGRAPHIC FATA MORGANA



Dr. B. J. Slot

Dr. B. J. Slot is a historian, and he was for some time in the archives of the Dutch East India Company in the General State Archives in The Hague. His special interests are the activities of the people of Western Europe in the Near and Middle East in early modern times. His publication include books on the history of the Ottoman conquest of the Greek Cyclades between 1500 and 1718, on the origins of Kuwait and on the voyages of discovery of Abel Tasman as well as a great number of articles on the history of the Near and Middle East.

The Writer assumes liability for all images contained in this article

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The Ptolemy's world map (90-168 AD).

This research presents images of Qatar in ancient cartographic sources from 1300 to 1772 AD. It refers to maps that date back to 150 AD, and to the first appearance of the name of Qatar on Portuguese nautical charts in 1561 and from there on Dutch printed maps. The research includes, early European information about Qatar, and the French, and German research ending up in Niebuhr's map, which contained names of Qatari cities.

1. *The tradition of Antiquity*: the Κάταρα of Ptolemy

The oldest mentions of Qatar on maps can be seen in Greek script as Κάταρα on maps illustrating the Γεογραφία, the geographical manual by Claudius Ptolemaeus Alexandrinus, commonly called in English "Ptolemy's Geography".[1]

The oldest manuscripts of this book, written c. 150 CE, seem to originate from the rediscovery of the Geography by a Byzantine scholar of the late 13th century, Maximos Planoudis (d. c. 1305). The Geography consists of 7 introductory treatises on the science of geography followed by a huge list of names of places, rivers and other geographical features, kingdoms, regions and tribes, each with its coordinates.

It is not relevant in this context to comment on the discussion about what was first, the maps or the text. With a piece of graph paper it seems not to be difficult to construct detailed maps of all parts of the world comprised in the list, or the other way round. But things are not as easy as that. The difficulty was: how to plot the spheric surface of the earth on a flat piece of paper. Ptolemy's coordinates are not the modern degrees and minutes, and many scholars have tried to convert them in different ways. The Geography became known in Western Europe in the end of the 14th century. The reconstruction of maps on the basis of Ptolemy's coordinates also was done after the introduction of printing in the 15th century. Several publishers produced since 1477, usually in the Latin translation, printed maps based on plotting Ptolemy's coordinates on copper plate or woodblock.

1. The oldest Greek manuscripts with maps probably are the codex Urbinas Graecus 82 in the Vatican Library and the codex Seragliensis GI 57 in Topkapi Istanbul. The mention of Qatar is in these codices on the 6th map of Asia.

grande, e più picciolo secondo la lor possibiltà. A tempo della state in quest'Isola fanno grandissimi caldi, in modo che non si puo vscir di casa, se non la mattina à buon'hora, e la sera al tardi; e le barche, che fossero in porto, conuien fodrarle di rami di dattoli; altramente il sole liquefaria la pece, & si rouinariano. Et con questi cuoprono anchora le uare, & altri vascelli, à quali di questa stessa materia fodrano anche gli arbori, sul pieno & sopra la coperta mettono assai sabione, foderando la naue dalla parte di fuora tutta di stoie fino al cõfin dell'acqua. Quiui comincia il verno da mezo nouembre, e dura per tutto il mese di gennaio; & il resto è come da noi, mà la state è con grãdissimi caldi. Alli 21. di Luglio la vigilia della Madalena alle 21. hore fù in Ormùs un terremoto assai grande: mà perche durò poco non fece troppo danno. In questo tempo fù trouato dal cap. di Ormùs in casa del visir ut thesoro con molte gioie, e danari, e lo tolse à nome del Rè di Portogallo. Questo visir, vuol dire vice Rè, & risiede al datio per riscuotere i dritti del Rè d'Ormus. Quiui risiede anchora il viator di facende, che vuol dire thesoriere del Rè di Portogallo. Et vi risiede anchora un'altro chiamato fattor

Stagioni diuerse dalle nostre.

The text of Gasparo Balbi in the Dutch edition of 1706: Barechator or Bahr al-Qatar.

fattor del Rè di Portogallo, doue quando si vuol cauar robbe di dogana, ciò nõ può farsi, se non risiedono tutti tre questi: essendoui di più molti scriuani, così Portughesi, come Mori. Tãto basti quãto à questi particolari della città di Ormùs; parẽdomi honesto di discriuer i luoghi, oue si pescauo le perle.

In che modo si pigliano le perle, & in che luogo. Cap. XIIII.

ANCORCHE in Ormùs non si piglino perle; nè quelle ui si peschino: nondimeno per pigliarsi in alcune Isolette, quiui vicine: mi è parso in questo luogo farne mentione, Le megliori perle, che si trouino, sono quelle, che si pigliano nell'Isola di Bairen, & in quelle del Gionfar lequali sonc bellissime, grosse, & assai tonde, delle altre poi sene pigliano in molte altre Isolette uicine l'una all'altra, che si chiamano Latif. Lasen, Barechator, zezirafilbar, Alul, Seran, Desiue, Daas, Emegorcenon, Arzeui, zerecho Delmephialmas, sirbeniast, Aldane, Festebruatich, Cherizan, Dibei, Sarba, Agiman, Ras, Emelgouien, Rasagiar, Daoin, Rasaelchime, Sircorcor, Casap, Con

For us the essential point in Ptolemy's work is the presence of the name Κάταρα (Catara in the Latin translation), with coordinates in the list and on the maps accompanying many manuscript and printed versions of the Geography. Not all versions have Catara: the Latin or Italian versions often are not full editions of the original texts, but shortened and then Catara is missing.[1] From all versions it is clear that Catara is a place slightly to the West and inland from the important city of Gerra, which has usually been identified with Qatif, although I would also propose the possibility that Gerra was modern Uqayr.

2. The absence of Qatar in the early Italian cartography of the Gulf and its later imitations: 1548-end 17th century

A remarkable phenomenon is that Qatar occurs on certain exceptional manuscript and printed maps from 1561, but is usually missing on the mainstream printed maps of the famous cartographers of the late 16th and 17th centuries.

The history of early made by Giacomo Gastaldi with an Italian miniature atlas in which simplified Ptolemy maps are supplemented with "tabulae novae", new maps which claim to show the situation as it was deemed to be in 1548.[2] The "new" knowledge recorded in the 1548 map of Arabia is limited to the region of the first Portuguese expeditions: the coast between the capes Ras ul-Hadd and Musandam, the toponyms of the Arabian coast between Musandam and Basra make no sense. A later, more detailed view of the Arabian coast of the Gulf is in the first map of Asia by the same Giacomo Gastaldi, published in 1561. This map shows in the area of Qatar the toponyms Moy, Puza, Berou and Tabla which do not make much sense to us.[3]

Gastaldi's toponyms on the Arabian coast of the Gulf appear to come from a geographical description of the area of Portuguese colonial expansion by Duarte Barbosa. The text of Barbosa is rather confused and many of the places mentioned could not be verified from other sources and probably are erroneous or imaginary. The four names in the Qatar region on the map of Gastaldi all come from Barbosa. The modern Portuguese edition of the book of Barbosa gives the variations in spelling existing in the different versions of Barbosa, the best manuscript gives: Mohi, Priza, Beroaquem and Ditabala...[4] In short: the depiction of the Arabian coast of the Gulf on the Gastaldi map and its many imitations have little relation to reality.

Gastaldi's image of the Arabian peninsula was used by some publishers as model for printed maps that pretended to be nautical charts. As the image used had not much to do with reality, it was only good that these maps were sold to collectors, not to navigators. It appears that the possession of printed nautical charts was fashionable with the European elite of the 17th century, but most publishers of maps had no real knowledge of the Gulf region. The drive to imitate was in this period much stronger than the drive to innovate and this explains the absence of Qatar on almost all maps by the great cartographers such as Ortelius, Hondius, Blaeu, John Speed and many others.

One cartographer who tried to innovate was Nicolas Sanson, but the way he tried to improve the Gastaldi image may look a bit strange to us. In 1653 he published a small map of Arabia, followed the next year by a large size one. Sanson used a different source that had been around for some time, but had not drawn the attention of cartographers until then: the book of the 12th century Arab geographer Idrisi.[5] In itself it would be a logical assumption that even an old Arab geographer would know about the Arabian peninsula. Idrisi's work had been printed in Arabic in Rome and later a Latin translation was published by two Lebanese in Paris in 1619. The information on Arabia was also published by two famous Dutch cartographers (Joannes Janssonius in 1633 and Willem Blaeu in 1635) in a booklet on Arabia.[6]

Neither of these two cartographers used Idrisi's information for maps, while Sanson made his correction only for a small part of the Arabian peninsula: the part between Basra and Gastaldi's unidentifiable Berou. So Sanson's map was not much more than a Gastaldi map with some toponyms added from the Latin translation of Idrisi's book. In the region of Qatar there is one name: Biscia (the بيشة of Idrisi) which is placed between Gastaldi's Qatif

1. See for images of full versions of Ptolemy›s 6th map of Asia with Catara: Sultan b. Muhammad Al-Qasimi, The Gulf in historical maps (2nd edition s.l. 1999), pp. 9, 11, 12, 56. For one of the shortened versions ibid. p. 27.
2. Giacomo Gastaldi, Geografia di Tolomeo (Venetia 1548)
3. Detail showing the Gulf, B.J. Slot, Origins of Kuwait (2nd edition, Kuwait 1998 edition) p. 17
4. M.A. da Veiga e Souza (ed.) O Livro de Duarte Barbosa vol. 1 (Lisbon 1996), p. 135
5. Slot, Origins (1998) pp 61-67: editions of Idrisi and the resulting maps of Sanson
6. Joannes Janssonius, Arabia seu Arabum vicina (Amsterdam, Guillelmus Blaeu 1635).

and Beru. The name could not be identified and it is uncertain whether this place was in Qatar or not, Biscia may as well have been situated in the Saudi territory of Uqayr.

Sanson also had many imitators, among whom the Amsterdam publisher Frederik de Wit and Richard Blome from London. It is interesting that Frederik de Wit published both images of Arabia from the pure Gastaldi version and images of the Sanson version. The Sanson image had a long life. It was even used for the map of Arabia in the printed version of Haci Khalifa's Cihannuma published in Istanbul in 1732, where Biscia/بشة is in its usual position.[1] There were in the course of the seventeenth century some small improvements applied to maps of the Sanson tradition, but they did not concern the Qatar region. None of the maps of this group mentions the name of Qatar.

3. The first mention of Qatar on Portuguese maps

The principal publishers of maps between 1561 and 1700 just kept producing the Gastaldi or Sanson image of Arabia. Nevertheless, there existed another cartographic tradition on which Catara is shown. This tradition originates in Portuguese nautical charts of the Indian Ocean. The earliest occurrences of the name Catara are on two nautical charts in an atlas of 1563 by Lazaro Luis in the library of the Academy of Sciences in Lisbon.[2] On the coast of Arabia one finds the name Catara for a town, and slightly to the East from there a place called Godo (maybe Khor al-Udayd?). It should be noted that there is no peninsula of Qatar, although there is a very slight protrusion of the coast, where earlier and most later Portuguese nautical charts have a flush coastline. The second chart in the same atlas shows a rather conventional drawing of a city with the text "Sidade de Catar". Also later Portuguese maps show a place called Catara, but there are not more details nor is there any improvement in geometry,

There appears to be no reference to Qatar in written archival documents of the 16th century, so it is impossible to know for sure where the information on the maps of Lazaro Luis came from. The knowledge may have come from military activities of the Portuguese in the region of Al Hasa in 1541.[3]

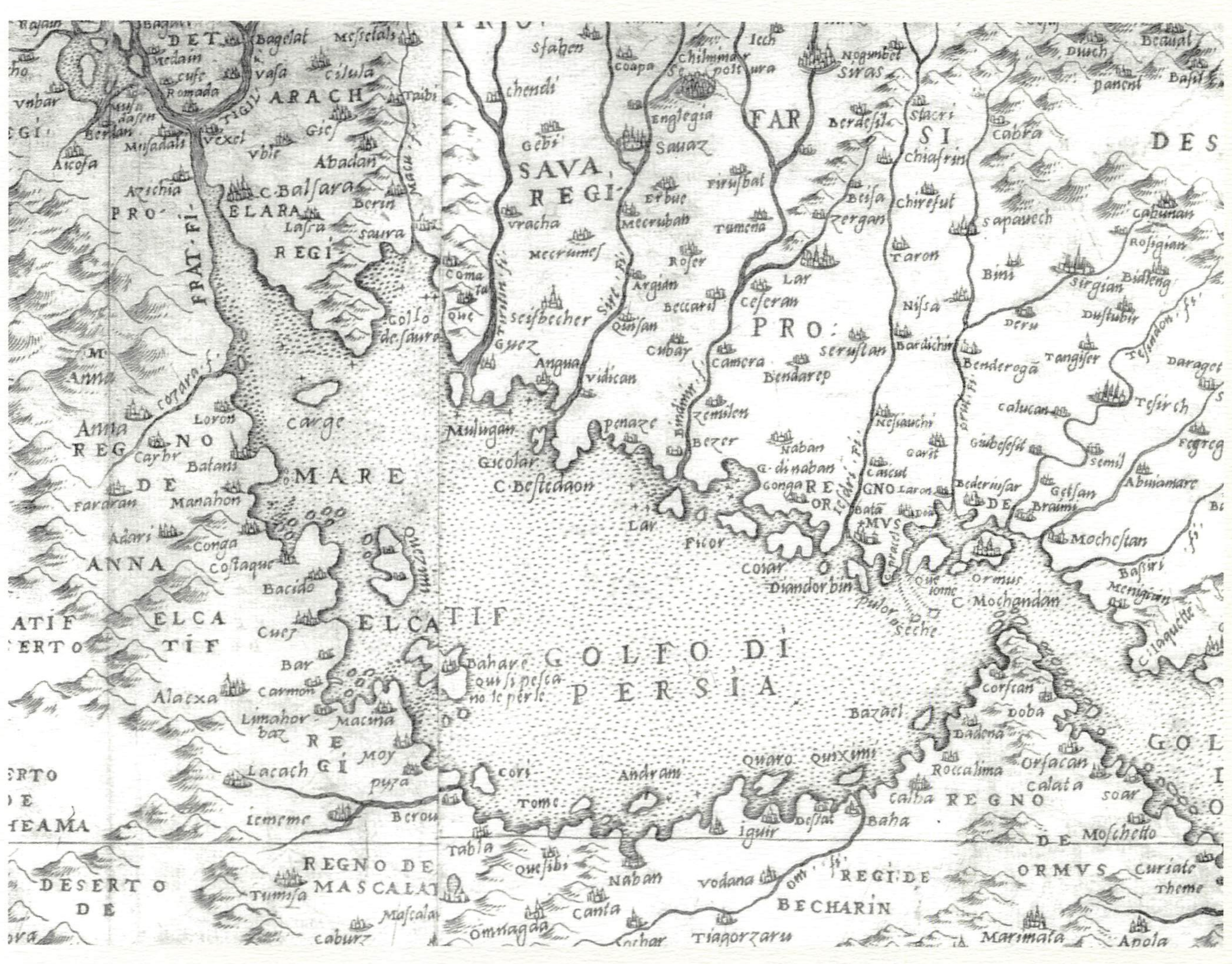
The Portuguese maps of this type were somehow known in Holland. In Holland more than in Portugal there existed considerable expertise in the printing of maps and a map of the Indian Ocean clearly based on the maps of Luis was included in a Dutch printed book, the Itinerario by Jan Huygen van Linschoten, this map lacks Godo, but on the other hand there is Catara the slight protrusion of the Qatar peninsula is more pronounced on this printed version. Catara is on all maps represented as a city, not as a region and on cartography this state of affairs continued for two centuries.

European emulators used later Portuguese charts with the name of the town of Catara (sometimes slightly distorted). There are especially several types of Dutch manuscript nautical charts. The oldest seems to be a small detail chart of the region around Bahrain in a miniature atlas of c. 1650-1660 in the British Library.[4] Two other Dutch versions have the peculiarity of putting the name of Catara twice.[5] Another Dutch nautical chart used in the Dutch establishment of Bandar Abbas was copied by Engelbert Kaempfer, a German doctor in the service of the Dutch East India Company and printed in his book about Persia. Here the name Catara is on a coastal stretch between two creeks.[6]

The collection of the French Service Hydrographique in the National Library in Paris gives a good impression how either directly or via the nautical cartography of the Dutch East India Company the Portuguese image of the Gulf became known in France and Britain. Many of these nautical charts include the name of the city of Catara.[7]

From time to time occurred mixtures between two cartographic traditions. The most interesting was a map of Arabia made by the Amsterdam cartographer Joannes Janssonius.[8] This map shows a new approach. The shape of the Gulf is inspired on the shape the Gulf has in the Linschoten map of 1596 (so in fact it is based on

1. Slot, Origins (1998), pp. 68-69.
2. A facsimile of this atlas has been published by the Lisbon Academy in 1990: Atlas de Lazaro Luis 1563: codice da Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa.
3. Document in the Portuguese National Archives, Gaveta XV, 11-2, published in As Gavetas de Torre do Tombo, vol. 4, pp. 357-359.
4. Add. Ms. 34184 map nr. 15.
5. National Archives, The Hague, 4.VEL.220 and 4.VEL.221.
6. Map in Engelbert Kaempfer, Amoenitates Exoticarum (Lemgo 1712).
7. Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Cartes et Plans SH 209/2, of special interest is a very primitive and distorted English map nr 209/2/2 apparently directly derived from a Portuguese map and a French map which considering Dutch toponyms attributed in 1645 is an imitation from the Dutch (208/2/8).
8. Slot, Origins (1998) p. 33 shows the Gulf on this map in detail.



Detail from the Gastaldi map of 1561.

data first used by Lazaro Luis) and many of the toponyms of the Linschoten map are also found on this map by Janssonius. The name Qatar is present in the form of Catara. But the protrusion of the Qatar peninsula has disappeared here like it has disappeared on the later Portuguese and Dutch nautical chart. On the other had this map is full of the imaginary names derived from the Gastaldi tradition. On this map and also on the edition of a few years later by Joan Blaeu (Amsterdam 1662) the name Catara is not accompanied by a little circle to show that it is a place, but the name is put near the mouth of a river. It may, however, be that the engraver has simply forgotten to put the little circle.

4. Other early European information on Qatar

Progress in cartography of Qatar was incredibly show. The only real information was the insertion of the town of Qatar by Lazaro Luis on his maps in 1561, after that no real news came for two centuries. If we look at Western sources about on Qatar other than maps the situation is not much better: primary references are extremely scarce. The reason is that big European sailing ships (and these were the ships that needed good chart and had officers on board able to make charts) avoided the Arabian coast. A manuscript containing sailing instructions for the Gulf by a certain Davenport clearly puts the reason for avoiding the Arabian coast: it is a lee shore, full of shallow places and entirely uncharted.[1] Small rowing vessels like the Arabian "tranquins" also used by the Portuguese with the name "terradas" could penetrate there, but these boats did not need accurate charts.

The first non-cartographic reference from the era of discoveries to Qatar is in a printed book by the Venetian jeweller Gasparo Balbi, who visited Hormuz in 1580, contains a list of names of localities and islands on the Arabian coast of the Gulf. For many of those it is the earliest mention in a European source. Although Balbi names no places on Qatar he mentions an otherwise unknown name for the part of the Gulf to the west of Qatar: Barechator: Bahr-i Qatar, sea of Qatar followed by Alul [Halul island].[2]

Some years later, in 1604, the Portuguese jeweler Pedro Texeira traveled through the Gulf. His book contains a description of the yearly pearling season with a reference to Qatar:

"The fishery of Barhen begins in some years in June, but more usually in July and goes on during that moth and August. A fleet is formed of about 200 terradas [small vessels], more or less, a hundred from Barhen, 50 from Julfar, 50 from Nichelu. They go and fish at Catara, a port of Arabia, 10 leagues to the South of the island of Barhen."[3]

A Catara is also mentioned in the year 1605 in a summary description of the travel of an employee of the British East India Company, but there may be some doubts if this text really refers to Qatar.

"From Balsara [Basra] I passed by sea to Catiffa [Qatif] on the coast of Arabia Felix,governed by a Turke, but a rebbel against the Grand Signior, where there is great plenty of sundry forms of fruites as dates and others. And from thence we sayled by many islands, but among the rest, to that famous island Bharem, sixe dayes sayling from Balsara and in the midway to Ormus, where they fish for pearls foure moneths in the year, to wit, in Iune, August, September. And there are the best pearles, which are round and Orient.

From the island of Baharem, we sayled to Calara [in the margin Calara or Catura] on the coast of Arabia Felix, and so passed by land with camels, to Shiriff Din [a region in Central Oman entioned on old maps], (with a purpose to have gone to Aman [Oman] where one John White, an Englishman, which refused my company, was poysoned..." [4]

In 1629 a Portuguese naval squadron was sent to help the Ottoman governor of Qatif against Arabs of the Persian coast of the Gulf who were attacking the Ottomans who were at that time allies of the Portuguese. In a Portuguese document which is a report by the Portuguese supreme commander, operations against the Arabs on the coast of Qatar are mentioned:

"Because the Pasha of Qatar asked me to favour him and to help him with a fleet of ships against the King of Persia, and he promised to pay the expedition himself, [...] I ordered Dom Gonçalo da Silveira as Captain major to go with the infidels and to serve with

1. French translation of the sailing instructions of Davenport, undated but could be attributed to early 18th century in Archives Nationales, Paris, Marine 2 JJ 52.
2. Gasparo Balbi, Viaggi (Venezia 1590), p. 49
3. The Voyage of Pedro Texeira (W.F. Sinclair and D. Ferguson ed., London 1902), p. 176)
4. [Samuel Purchas], Purchas his pilgrimages (London 1626), lib. 3, p. 237.



The reconstruction of Ptolemy's map of Arabia by Gerard Mercator which was many times reprinted during the 17th and 18th centuries.

TAB:

TAB. VI. ASIÆ,

ARABIAM FELICEM,

CARMANIAM ac

SINUM PERSICUM

comprehendens.

Medius Meridianus 84. reliqui ad hunc inclinantur pro exigentia parallelorum 13.27.

Carmanię desertę pars

Persidis pars

Camelobosci Sozotę

Drangia nę pars

Gedrosię pars

CARMANIA

Persicus

Carmanicus sinus

Ichthyophagorum sinus

Paragon sinus

INDICVM MARE

Sachalites sinus, in quo Colymbetes punici super veribus transnauigant

Cottabani

Libanotophoros

Chelonophagi

Asciię

Dioscoridis in sula

BRVM MARE

authority in that place with fustas [larger ships] and one war terranquim [local vessel, trankey in English], and he was there until the 28 April , putting fire to settlements and terradas [small local boats, type fishing boats] on the coast of Catar, causing great loss to the vassals of the King of Persia"...

In the instructions to Gonçalo da Silveira the order for an attack on Qatar is explicitly mentioned:

"In the first place he will accompany the Pasha down to Qatif [...] because he told me that he planned to burn down Catar."(1)

However, the attack on Qatar was done with rowing boats, so charts were not really needed, no exploration appears to have been done and there was no influence on Portuguese cartography.

Dutch documentary sources on the Gulf contain only one reference to Qatar. It is a bare mention of the trade of Bahrain, Qatar and Al Hasa with Muscat in 1672 by Robbert Padtbrugge, who had been sent by the Dutch governor of Ceylon as envoy to Muscat:

"Bahrijn, Ketter and Lehca buy merchandise arriving [in Muscat] from all parts. They come here to the market, but there are few single kinds of merchandise of which they buy a lot. They come to the market with cash only [meaning that they do not export to Muscat]..." (2)

5. Mainly French scholarly attempts

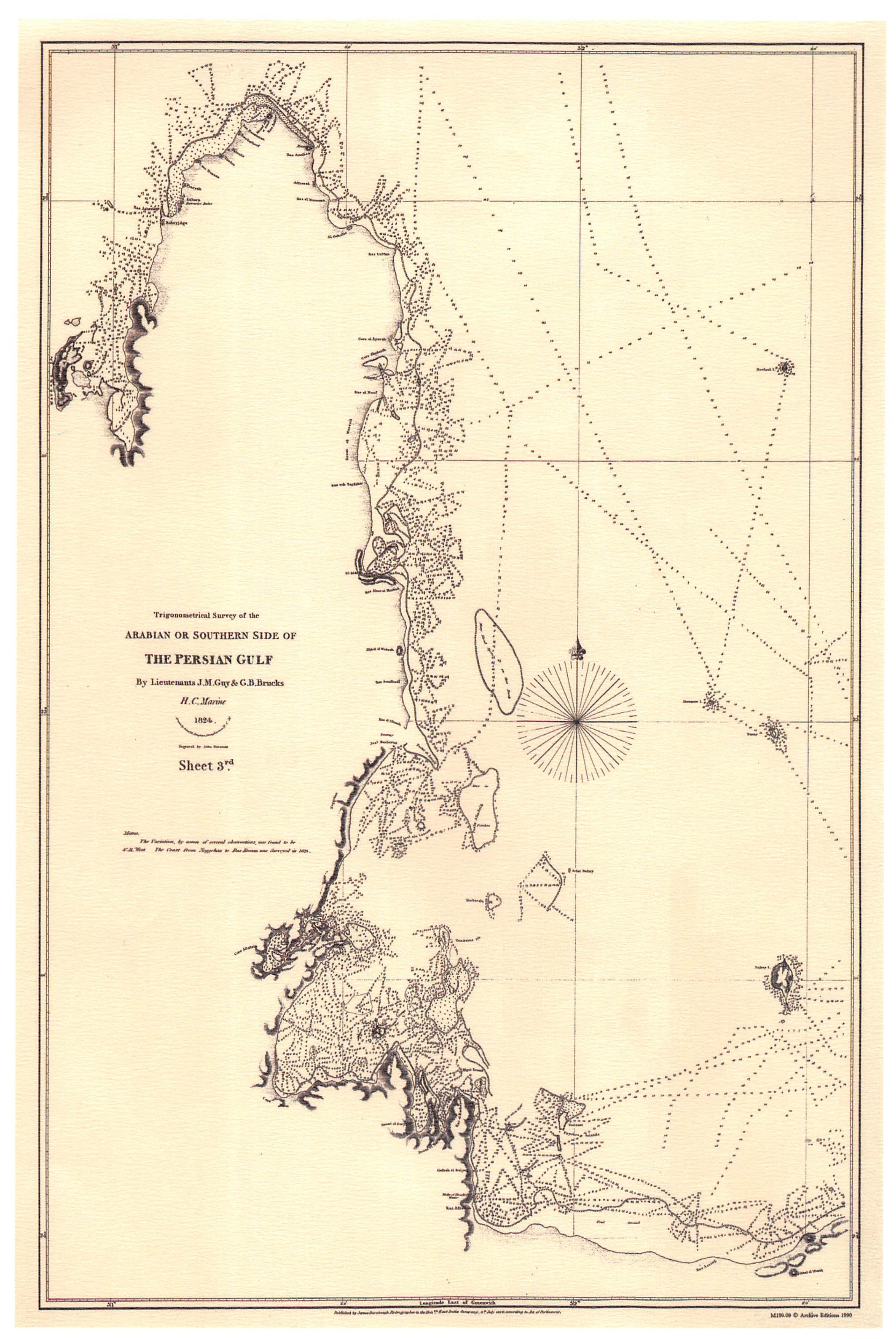
In the beginning of the 18th century some French cartographers tried a more strictly scientific approach. It started with Guillaume Delisle who was systematically checking the texts of different travellers and nautical charts. The consequence was in the first place that the unidentifiable toponyms of the Gastaldi tradition tended to disappear and that the Gulf on these maps took more the shape it had on the Portuguese and Dutch nautical charts. Another French cartographer, Nicolas de Fer worked in this period along the same line. Comparing old geographic texts and descriptions of travellers does not always produce results that are similar to reality and these scientific cartographers sometimes just produced new confusion. There was a place called Kadhima mentioned in Idrisi, but Idrisi was far from clear about its location. On Sanson maps it is placed somewhere inland South-West from Basra. There also circulated a text of Abulfida mentioning Kadhima with a big port on the coast of the Gulf. This place was since c. 1720 usually put on the place of Kuwait.

The first maps of Delisle and de Fer, however, show that Kadhima, written in Latin as Cathema or Catema, was identified by these cartographers with the Catara they saw on nautical charts... and they put Catema on the place of Qatar.(3) A bit later, in 1721, Delisle and another French cartographer, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville firmly put Cathema on the place of Kuwait, but did not mention Catara at all.(4)

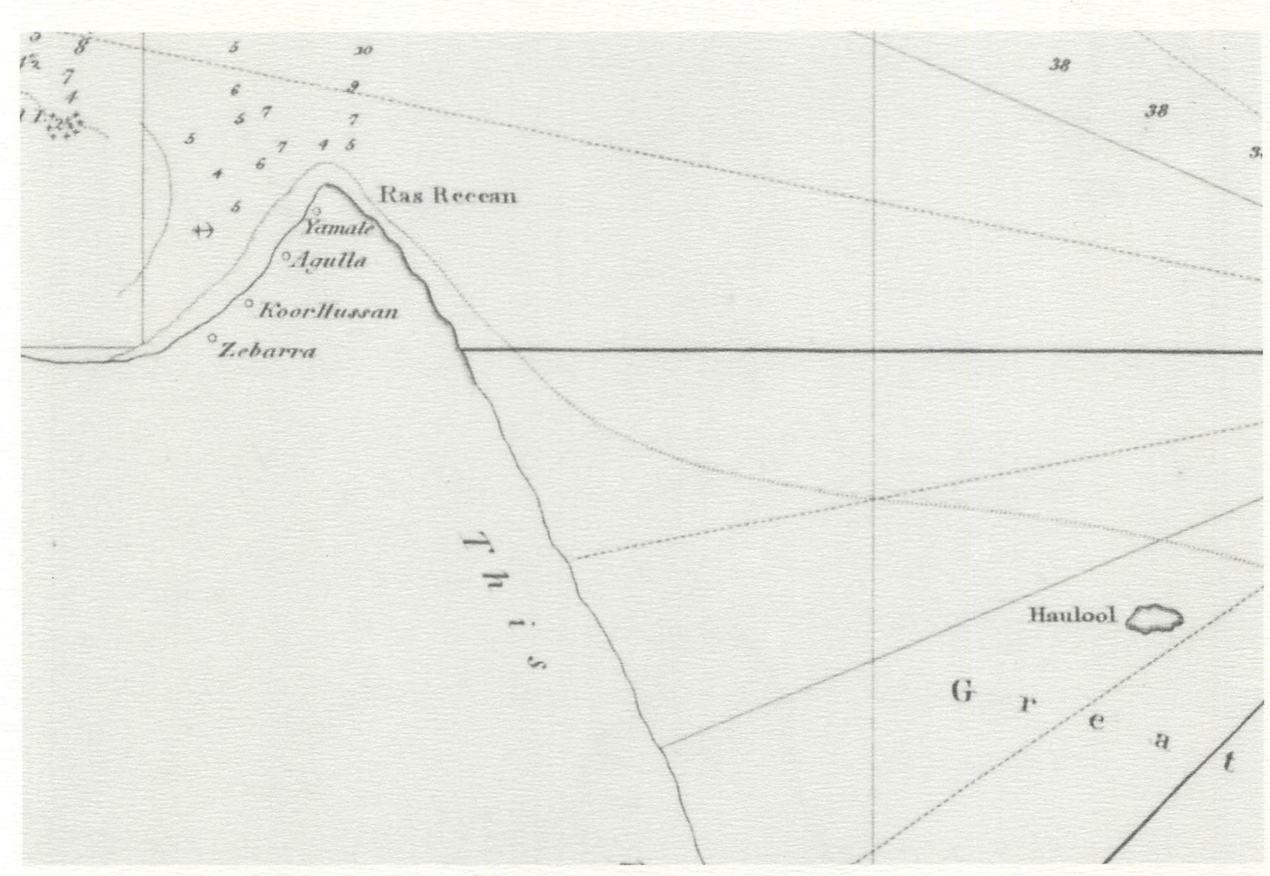
The map of Arabia printed in different versions and languages by the Dutch publisher Tirion follows a not uncommon line in old cartography: if it is not clear which of two different views is the right one: put them both. So is done in the case of Cathema and Catara. There is on the place of Kuwait a Cathema, there also is East from Bahrain a Catara and more to the East there is Defer's Catema! So this is a mixture of the work of Defer and the later work of Delisle.(5)

The French cartographer Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville published in 1752 a new map of Asia. The interesting point in this map is that there are a few small islands between the Bahrain islands and the mainland of Arabia called Posteles. These islands are situated between two places on the mainland: Hims (mentioned by Idirsi) and Khau, and to the east of these is the town of Catura/ Qatar. From there runs to the East a "little known coast" to Godo. Some clarification is provided in a lecture Anville gave on 17 November 1758 to the French Academy of Inscriptions and Literature. Here he tells that he had met with Don Alvaro de Navia y Cienfuegos, who had been involved into the last Portuguese military expedition into the Gulf, and that Cienfuegos had informed him about these Posteles:

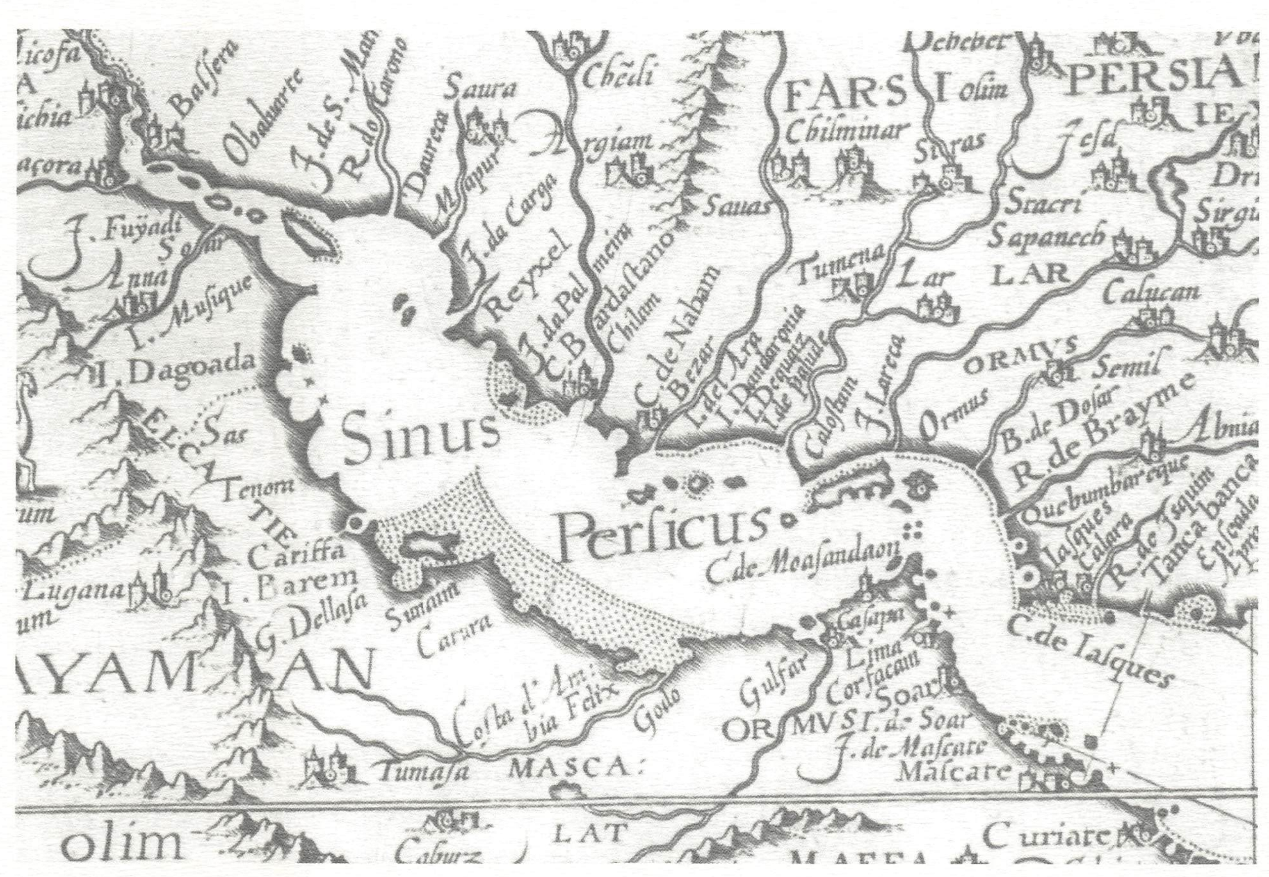
1. The document is published in L. Cordeiro, Dois Capitães da India (Lisbon 1898), pp. 116-117 and also in Luciano Cordeiro, Questões Historico-Coloniães (Lisbon 1898), pp. 356-357.
2. National Archives, The Hague, VOC 1288, fol. 489 verso. It should be noted that this passage is inaccurately translated in the publication of this Dutch report by Willem Floor in Moyen Orient & Océan Indien 2 (1985), p. 44.
3. Guillaume De l›Isle, Carte de la Turquie, de l'Arabie et de la Perse (Paris, 1702); Nicolas de Fer, L'Empire des Turcs (1715) in Qasimi, The Gulf in Historic Maps, 2nd edition (s.l. 1999) p. 138 .
4. Slot, Origins (1998), pp. 75 and 83.
5. Slot, *Origins* (1998), pp. 78-79.



Nautical chart of the coasts of Qatar published by Guy and Brucks in 1824, as precursor to the final edition of 1832.



Part of the Admiralty chart of 1820 showing the first real nautical knowledge about Qatar.



The depiction of the Gulf on the Linschoten map of the Indian Ocean (Amsterdam, 1596) is the first printed map showing the cartographic knowledge of the Gulf. It appears to be based on the manuscript charts by Lazaro Luis of 1561 but shows the Qatar peninsula a bit clearer.

These islands [Bahrain and Muharaq] are separated from the mainland only by a narrow channel and in which I have been informed by Don Alvaro that there were two small islands that are not mentioned on the maps and that are called Posteles by the Portuguese and Apas by the Arabs.[1]

Anville gave in his lecture no information on the places Hims and Khau.

Knowledge of the Arabian coast of the Gulf remained extremely vague. The nautical chart of the Gulf in the second edition of the Neptune Oriental of 1775 by the French navigator Jean-Baptiste d'Après de Mannevillette. The coast of the Arabian peninsula is different both from the earlier 1745 edition of the Neptune Oriental and from other nautical charts because of one peculiarity: on the place of Al-Hasa there is a mention that the region of Bahrain has been drawn with the help of a Persian chart of which "the accuracy cannot be guaranteed".[2] There is, however, nothing particular to be seen in the depiction of Bahrain, as usual in that time Bahrain is much shortened because the absence of the Qatar peninsula does not provide space for the North-South dimension of Bahrain.

The firm of the Heirs of J.B. Homann in Nuremberg had in the 1730's published an atlas drawn by the mathematician Johann Matthias Haas (1684-1742), of which the map of Persia (Imperii Persici...) used for the Gulf the image introduced by Delisle and Defer, showing Catema on the place of Qatar, a little to the West from the Biscia of Idrisi and Sanson. However, for the map of Turkey (Imperium Turcicum) Haas used the image of the Delisle map of 1721, but with one peculiarity: on the place of Qatar one finds the name Cataragade. This is Portuguese for "Wells of Qatar". On no other maps this mention is found.[3] It seems to indicate some Portuguese information about Qatar uniquely available to Haas, but more we do not know.

6. Carsten Niebuhr

The scientific expedition sent by the King of Denmark to investigate Arabia was ill-fated. Only one of the participants, Carsten Niebuhr, survived to report its results in Europe. In 1772-1773 two books appeared with the results of the expedition. One was a travel account and the other a geographical description of the Arabian peninsula. The travel account is not of importance in this context because Niebuhr never came near Qatar. His information came from Europeans who were stationed in the Gulf region: Niebuhr had met the officials of the Dutch East India Company on Kharg island and British E.I.C. officials in Bushire. Niebuhr was in the Gulf region in the years 1765-1766.

Niebuhr's account of the Gulf region shows similarities to a report on the tribes of the Gulf written by the chiefs of the Dutch establishment on Kharg in 1756. In his book Niebuhr inserted a map of the Gulf. He mentioned that its basis was an English nautical chart of the Gulf on which he had plotted names of places and tribes he had heard of from his informants. The map in itself is nothing very special: in fact it was not really an English nautical chart, but an English version published by William Herbert in London in 1758 of the first edition of a French nautical chart of the Gulf from the 1747 edition of the nautical atlas Neptune Oriental by Jean-Baptiste d'Après de Mannevillette,. Although Niebuhr was a geometer by profession, he did not apply his skills in the Gulf, and the map in his book has a worse distortion than most nautical charts of the Gulf.

As far as Qatar is concerned the original nautical chart contains nothing. Niebuhr's additions, however, are the first real improvements since 1561. There is nothing indicating a peninsula — that old piece of Portuguese information was forgotten — but there are on the coast three names referring to real places on Qatar: Huäle, Iusofie and Feräha.[4] In this way Niebuhr's map may be considered the beginning of modern cartography. But here modernity ends. To the West from Huäle one finds Adsjär which is easily recognisable as Uqayr but then more to the West there is Gattar! Thus Qatar appears to be split in two: Gattar too far to the West and the three places Huäle, Iusofie and Feräha in the East.

The key to this enigma may be found in the text of Niebuhr's description. The first reference is on p. 341 of the original German edition. After Qatif and Tarut in the territory of the Banu Khaled

1. J.B. Bourguignon d'Anville, Récherches géographiques sur le golfe persique, Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres vol. 30 (1776) p. 111.
2. Slot, Origins (1998), p. 97
3. Al-Qasimi, The Gulf in historic maps, p. 191 with Cataragade, on p. 178 a reproduction of the map with Catema.
4. Of one of these places there is an earlier mention: Feräha/Ferayhin in an Ottoman document of 1701, see Slot, Origins (1998), p, 110-111, 114.

tribe it mentions to the East:

" (قطر) Gattar, a port on this coast opposite the island of Bahrain. The inhabitants of this town pay to the Shaikh of Bushire 3000 rupees annually for the freedom to dive for pearls on the coast of Bahrain. The name of this town will occur soon again, so maybe it does not belong to the territory of the Banu Khaled tribe"

Then follows a mention of Adsjär/Uqayr (عجير) and next a description of Kuwait and Jahra, followed on p. 342 by the mention:

" Between the territory of the Banu Khaled Arabs and the region of Oman there lives a large tribe, the Al Musillim (ال مسلم) under whose authority stand the following places: (قطر) Gattar, (حويله) Huäle, (يوسفقيه) Jusofie and (فريحه) Faräha."

It is clear that there is some confusion here which has not been resolved very well in the map. Qatar, still seen as a city, not as a region, has been shifted on the map too far to the West and become separated from the other places belonging, according to Niebuhr, to the Al-Musallem tribe.

7. Epilogue

With Niebuhr the elementary topographic knowledge of Qatar recorded by the Portuguese in the 16th century was for the first time expanded. It was only in the early 19th century that first incidental British visits to the region and in the years after 1820 systematic exploration produced first new toponyms and then the accurate shape of the Qatar peninsula. A good idea of the first stage of the expansion of knowledge can be found on the British Admiralty chart of the Gulf of 1820.(1) This chart never was much appreciated because it only gave a sketchy image of the Arabian side of the Gulf. But, based on the voyage of Captain Maude 1816, this chart for the first time shows the position as wel as a drawing of the island of Halul: the first real picture of a Qatar landmark. The chart of 1820 is also the first to show that Qatar is a peninsula, although its outline was still vague and inaccurate.(2) The Qatar toponyms on this chart are Ras Reccan, Yamale, Agulla, Khor Hussan and Zebarra. The great project of systematic exploration of the Gulf was conducted subsequently by Philip Maughan, John M. Guy and George Brucks in the years1820-1829, the result was a detailed and accurate nautical chart of the Gulf in two sheets with toponyms in Latin and Arab writing and for the first time a realistic depiction of the coastline of Qatar.(3)

1. National Archives, The Hague, 4.MCAL.4174.
2. A printed chart of 1813, dedicated to Viscount Melville, shows in the middle of a vaguely and inaccurately drawn Arabian coast a piece of the Western coast of Qatar, but much too far remote from Bahrain: D.E. Bartholomew, Chart of the Persian Gulf.
3. G.R. Brucks, Chart of the Gulf of Persia (London, J. Horsburgh, 1832)

les Pachas. On ne trouve plus dans la province de *Láchſa* que quelques familles turques qu'on prétend dériver de leurs anciens Pachas, & qui ſe diſtinguent toujours des Arabes par l'habillement turc qu'elles ont conſervé. Ces Turcs poſſédent à la vérité des terres conſidérables; mais ils n'ont aucune part au gouvernement. Tout le diſtrict appartient à la tribu *Beni Khâled*, une des plus puiſſantes parmi les Arabes, laquelle s'étend ſi avant dans le déſert, qu'elle inquiete ſouvent les caravanes entre *Bagdad* & *Hâleb*. Le *Schech* aujourd'hui règnant ſe nomme *Ärär*. La plus grande partie de ce pays eſt habitée par les *Bedouins*, & par diverſes tribus arabes qui reconnoiſſent la ſouveraineté de la tribu *Beni Khâled*. On y trouve encore pluſieurs villes. *Láchſa* eſt la réſidence du *Schech* règnant. C'eſt une ville grande & bien bâtie, & on l'appelle auſſi *Hadsjar*; mais *Hadsjar* eſt proprement le nom de la province, comme on me l'a aſſuré. Je ne ſais au reſte aucune particularité des autres villes & villages de l'intérieur du pays. Près du golfe perſique ſont:

قطيف *Katîf*, aſſez grande ville avec un port, diſtante environ de 5. miles d'Allemagne d'*Aual* ou *Bâhhrejn*. Les habitans ſont *Schiites* & la plûpart originaires & fugitifs de ces isles. Ils ſubſiſtent principalement par la pêche des perles; & lorsqu'ils ne ſont pas aſſez riches pour pêcher à leurs propres fraix & risques, ils ſe louent pour ce travail à des marchands étrangers, que cette pêche attire dans ces lieux pendant les mois les plus chauds de l'année. On trouve encore ici les ruines d'un ancien fort des Portugais. Pendant les chaleurs de l'été l'on regarde l'air de ce pays comme très-pernicieux. On donnoit auſſi à *Katîf* le nom de *Schat*; mais je ne ſuis pas certain, ſi ce dernier nom ne ſignifie pas toute la côte. *Tarûd* n'eſt pas loin de *Katîf* & dans une isle (*Dsjesîre*) *).

قطر *Kattar*, un port ſur la même côte, vis-à-vis de l'isle de *Bahhrejn*. Les habitans de cette ville payent annuellement au *Schech* d'*Abu ſchähhr* 3000. *Roupies*, pour avoir la permiſſion de pêcher des perles ſur la côte de *Bahhrejn*. Il

*) On avoit dit à *Abulfeda*, que *Tarud* dans le temps du reflux étoit une prèsqu'isle, & dans la plus haute marée une isle. Il y a beaucoup de pareils endroits ſur les côtes où la marée monte conſidérablement, comme dans le golfe perſique.

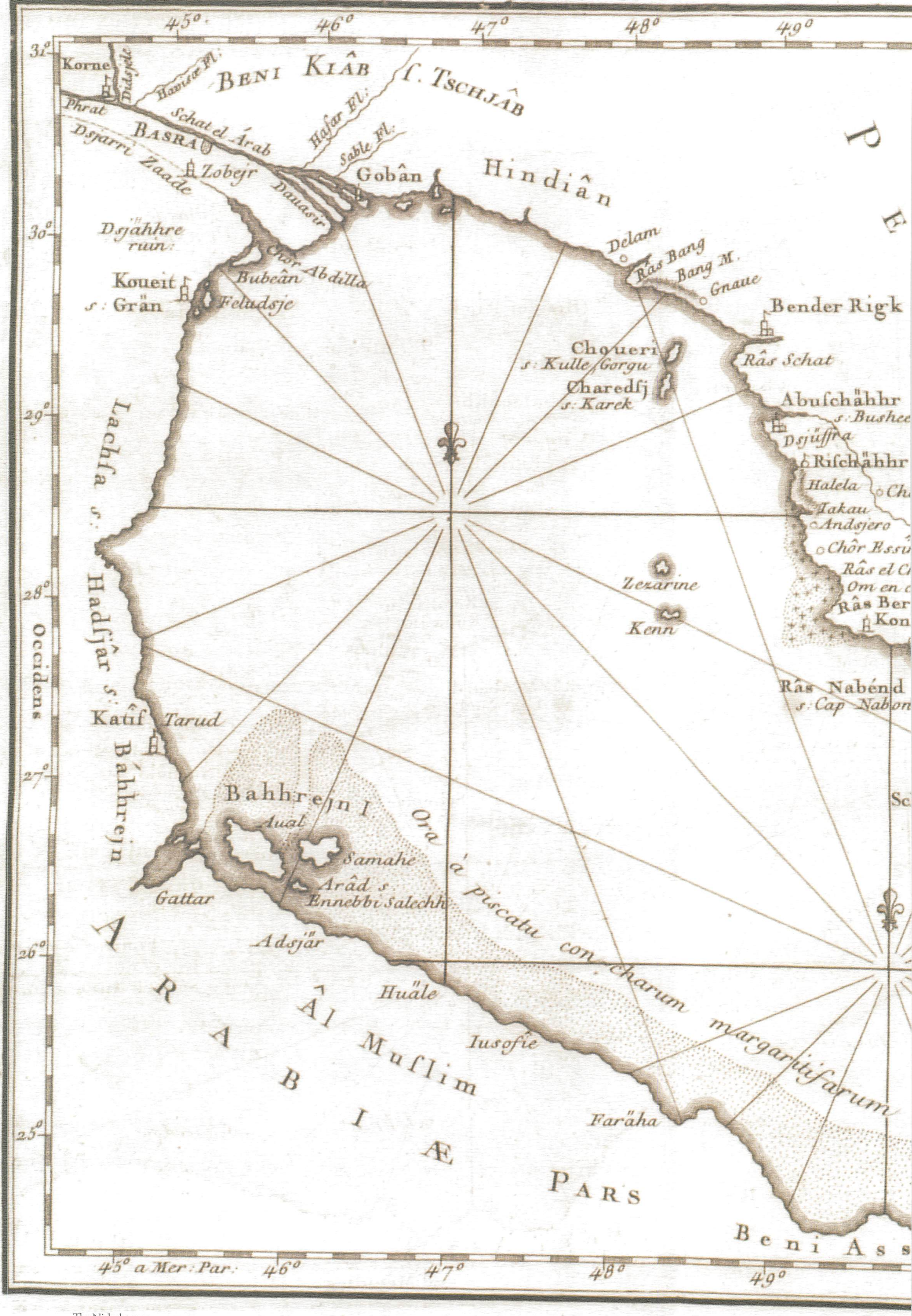
French translation published in 1774 in Amsterdam.

Il ſera encore ci-deſſous fait mention de cette ville. Peut-être ne reſſortit-elle pas de la tribu *Beni Khâled.* عجير *Adsjär* eſt un autre petit port. كويت *Koueit*, ville avec un port, éloignée de trois jours de *Zobeier*, ou du vieux *Bâsra*, & tout proche de *Khôr Abdilla*, qui eſt un golfe à l'Occident de l'embouchure du *Schat el ârrab.* Les Perſans & généralement les étrangers appellent cette ville قرين *Grän*, nom qui a beaucoup de rapport avec celui de *Gerra*, de laquelle *Pline* *) & pluſieurs autres anciens auteurs font mention. L'on dit, qu'elle a 800. petits navires. Ses habitans vivent de la pêche des perles & des poiſſons ſur la côte de *Bâhhrejn.* L'on aſſure, qu'ils ſont au nombre de 10000; mais dans les plus grandes chaleurs de l'année, lorsque la plûpart ſont auprès de *Bâhhrejn*, & que d'autres vont à *Bagdad*, à *Hâleb* & autres lieux y vendre des chameaux pour les caravanes, il n'y a pas dans la ville de *Koueit* ou *Grän* plus de 3000. perſonnes. La tribu arabe qui y domine, eſt celle de *Beni Ötba*; mais elle eſt ſoumiſe à la tribu *Beni Khâled* de *Lâchſa.* Il paroit que cette tribu d'*Ötba* cherche quelquefois à ſe rendre indépendante; car on aſſure, que les habitans de *Grän* ſe retirent dans l'isle de *Féludsje* qui leur appartient, dèsque le *Schech* de *Lâchſa* fait marcher contr'eux une armée. Il y a encore un Fort portugais près de *Grän.* Le *Schech* de cette ville poſſéde auſſi *Harar adiën.* جهرة *Dsjabbere*, ville ruinée à une journée au Nord de *Grän*, ſemble pareillement lui appartenir.

Entre les poſſeſſions de la tribu *Beni Khâled* & le pays d'*Omân* habite une grande tribu arabe آل مسلم *âl Muſillim*, de laquelle dépendent les places ſuivantes: قطر *Kattar*, حويله *Huäle*, يوسفيه *Juſofie* & فريحه *Faräba.* Une autre tribu fort petite, nommée *Beni As*, ſe trouve près de là; mais ſon pays eſt ſi mauvais, que ſes voiſins n'ont aucune raiſon de le lui envier.

*) Lib. VI. 32. *Strabo* lib. XVI. p. 885.

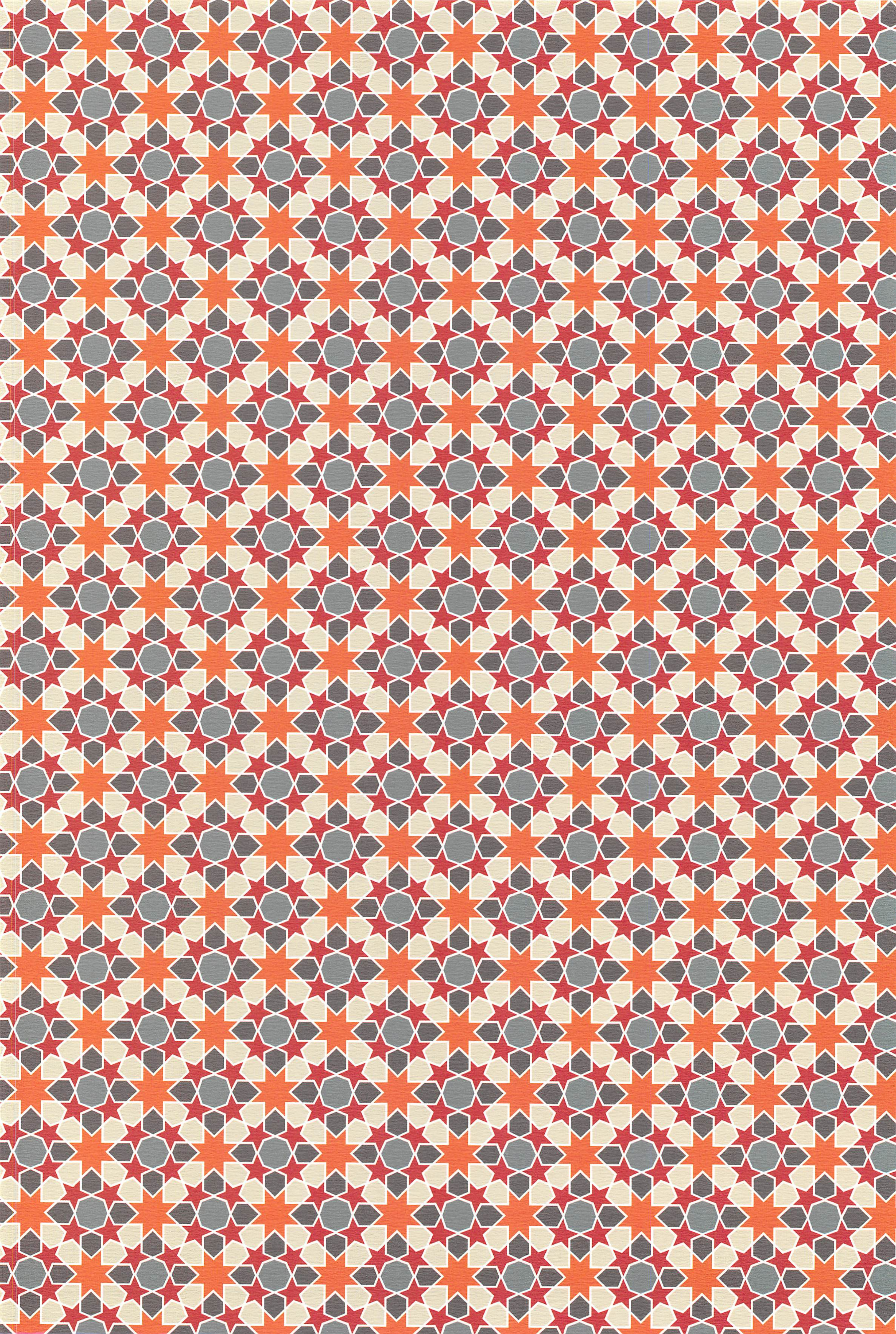




The Niebuhr map



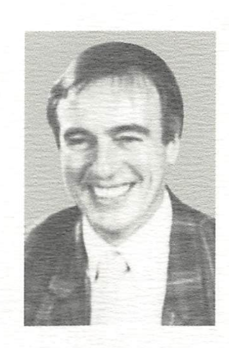
Sinus Persicus
maximam partem
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Milliaria Germanica 15 in uno Gradu
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ruin: de
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Laristân
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Hormûs
s. Ormus
Minau
Laresdsj s.
Larek
Kunk
Lest
Dsjisme
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Hindsjâm
s. Angar
Basidu
Bassadore
Benatha
Salâme
Râs
Mussendom
Bellûdsjes
Lundsje
Râs el Dsjerd
Râs el Heti
Mogo
Siraf
Tsjarâk
Nachêlo
Beni Hule
Tibben
Dahhr Asbân
Schaiib
Schittuar
Hinderabi
Qâs
s. Kyjen
Quesche
Beliôr
s. Pollior
Tunb
Tunb Namiu
Frûr s. Nobfleur
Schech Sure s. Surde
Bumose
Râs
Fillam
Dsjülfâr
Dobba
Seer s. Dsjülfar
Seer Ditio
Bahhr Omân
Chôrfakân
Lima
Kälbe
Hössefin
Scharedsje
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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TENT TERMINOLOGY IN ARABIC AS AN EXAMPLE OF LINGUISTIC CHANGE

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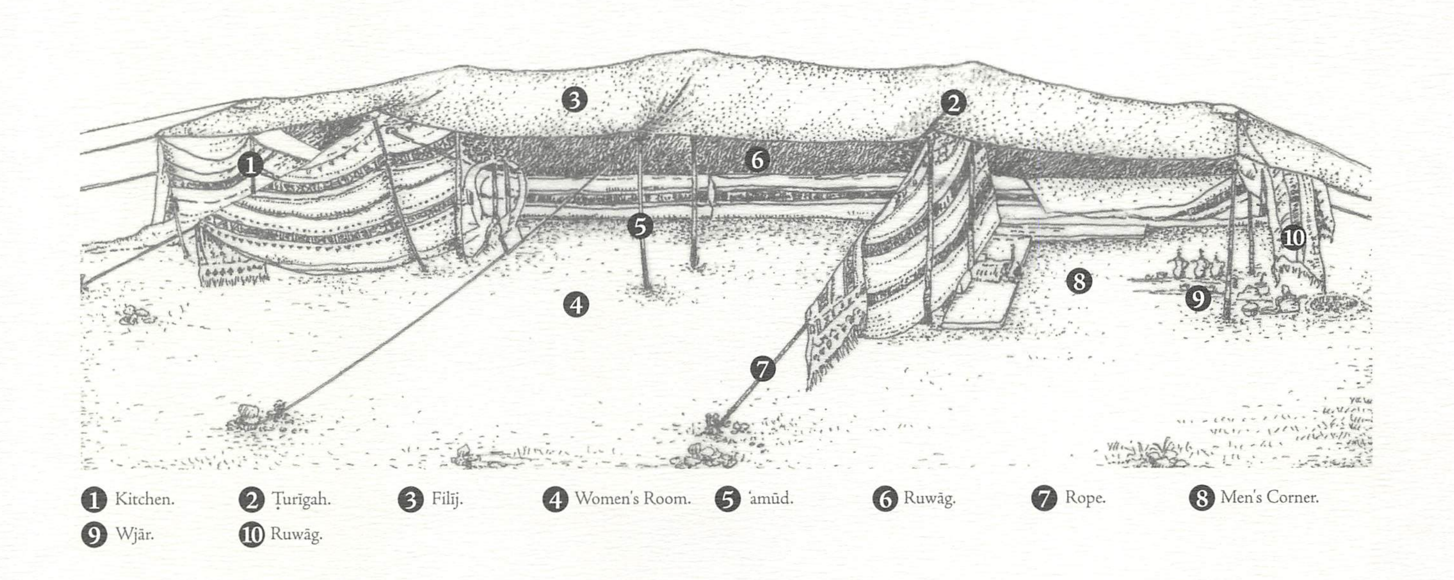


Bruce Ingham
SOAS London University

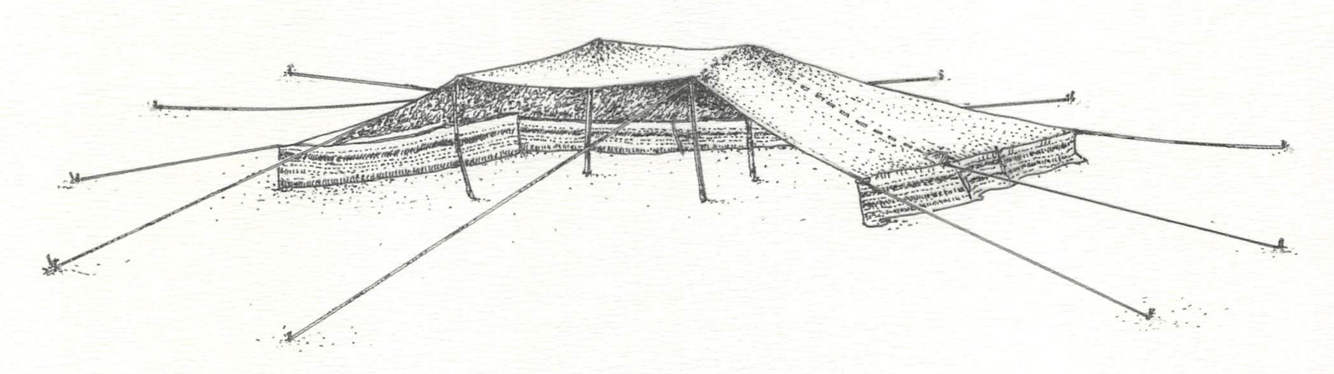
Bruce Ingham was born in London, and teaches at the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University. He has published research in English, German, and Japanese Academic journals: "Notes on the Dialect of the Mutair of Eastern Arabia" (1979), "Najdi Arabic Texts"; "Languages of Persian Gulf" (1980), "Notes on the Dialect of the Dhafir of North-eastern Arabia"; "North East Arabian Dialects" (1982), "Notes on the Dialect of the Al-Murra of Eastern and Southern Arabia" (1986), "The Salfah as a Narrative Genre" (1993). In addition to English; his mother tongue, he is proficient in Arabic, Farsi, French, Norwegian and Lakota.

ترجمة هذا البحث إلى العربية على الموقع:

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A bedouin tent with three poles.



A Side view of the tent.

The research examines the origins of Arabic tent vocabulary as a development from basic house vocabulary. Tent terminology is seen as a good field for the examination of semantic change in that words involved are used for new referents in the context of the tent. The terminology examined was collected from localities from 'Arabistan in Persia in the east to Algeria in the west and shows a surpising degree of uniformity for such a wide area, although some local differences do occur such as the use of 'amūd for 'tent pole' in the east, compared to rakīzah in the far west. The vocabulary is basically of Arabic origin, but two words of foreign origin are also observed, one from Greek and one from French.

Studies of linguistic variation over a geographical landscape have shown that there are two main mechanisms of distribution; either by diffusion of the elements across a landscape from one locality to the next by an osmosis-like process known as wave diffusion or as a result of the movement of the population themselves i.e. as a reflection of folk migration. Both of these can be evoked to explain the material at hand. Obviously the major spread of this vocabulary from Arabia to North Africa must be the result of the emigrations known as the Banū Hilāl invasions which occurred in the XIth century A.D. So that where such forms as ruwāg "(decorated) wall curtain" and ṭurīgah[1] "transverse velum girth" are seen to be spread over the whole area with the exception of small lacunae, we can presume that they were spread over the major part of it by emigration. This does not, however, preclude the possibility of small mopping-up operations having occurred by wave diffusion at a later date. One would presume also that the distribution of an identical form over a contiguous area, such as the development of rakīzah for "tent pole" and binyah for "dividing wall curtain" in the far west, is the result of diffusion. In other cases, however, the occurrence of a patch-work pattern such as that of šiggah versus filīj for "velum widths", which are both found in places throughout North Africa and Arabia leave us with no clue as to which is the older form. In fact we must presume that both were brought out from Arabia by the original migrations since the likelihood of the two being produced independently in different places is remote.

The following comparative treatment of the terminology is based on the material to hand, which does not cover the whole area, although it does show a reasonable spread and representative material from

1. Certain common sound changes are involved with many of the forms shown such as [j]>[ž] in North Africa, [j]>[y] in the Gulf littoral and Southern Iraq and Khuzistan, [q]>[g]>[j] or [q]>[g]>[ğ] in Central and Northern Arabia. Syllabic differences and differences of short vowel distribution, which are in many cases predictable, are also involved. Most of these are not commented on in the text as the relationship is usually plain.

most of the area is included.[1] Therefore statements such as "the word ruwāg "(decorated) tent wall curtain" occurs everywhere except..." must be seen in the light of the material available and does not mean that we will not find other areas where this word is not used if further material comes to hand.

A number of general semantic observations can be made when comparing the wide spread of data with which we are presented here. Firstly, as pointed out by Weir[2] anthropomorphic usages are common i.e. aṣābiʿ "fingers" for "corner guy-ropes", wajh "face" for "front of the tent", rijl "leg" for "back corner pole", yad "hand" for "front corner pole"; iḏn "ear" is used among the Ruwala to mean "purchase loop". This emphasizes the centrality of the tent within the culture[3]. Secondly, certain terms used are general and will mean one thing in the context of tents and another thing in another context, for instance magādim and mayāxir which mean "front" and "back guy- ropes" in a tent context, mean "front" and "back teats of a camel's udder" in another context. Thirdly a term may migrate within the system, moving from one object to denote another object adjacent to it[4], or alternatively become narrowed in its meaning to denote a specific member of a class of objects rather than the class itself. To take an example of the first case, in one usage the words magādim and mayāxir denote the "front" and "back guy-ropes"[5] whereas in another usage they denote the "front" and "rear props" which are used to prop up these respective guy ropes[6]. An example of the second case is the word ruwāg, which among many North Arabian bedouins means purely "(decorated) wall curtain", while among some South Arabian bedouins it denotes "(decorated) wall curtain dividing men's and women's sections of the tent". Another mechanism of semantic shift noticeable is transfer of meaning (metonomy) from an object to an object or activity associated with it[7]. Among North Arabian bedouins (and some North Africans) the ends of the velum widths are allowed to hang down as end walls to the tent. This is called the raffah. By transfer of meaning the same word can mean, among the same people, "men's portion of the tent" by abbreviation from raffat al-rijāl "men's end wall". Similarly the word gaṭbah in its most widespread usage, means "ridge-shoe", "-batten" or "-bar". This usage is seen among the Al Murra of Qatar and Saudi Arabia and most North Arabians. It is also possible however for the same term to be used to mean "transverse velum girth", which itself passes over the "batten" or "shoe". This latter usage is seen among the Dhafir (Ẓafīr), Ahl al-Jibāl and the Nuʿaim of Qatar. The same word can, it seems, also mean "one-poled tent" among the Ruwala of the Syrian desert, perhaps by extention from the meaning of having only one "ridge shoe". A form guṭub or gaṭab is reported among some tribes of Northern Jordan to mean "velum widths"[8] here showing the transfer of the meaning of the word from a part of the tent roof to the whole tent roof. A more obvious mechanism of semantic shift is where a word is transferred from denoting one object to denoting another object of similar function as where the word ruwāg usually "(decorated) wall curtain" comes to mean "hedge" among the Awlād Nāil of Algeria, who often use a hedge as a curtain. Similarly the word ḏara usually "tent wall", comes to mean "hedge" in the dialect of the Ulād bu ʿAšra of Western Morocco[9]. A vivid example of change by metonomy associated with tents is the title al-buwait associated with the leader of the Dhafir tribe[10], chosen from the Āl Suwaiṭ clan. This title goes back to an event which happened probably at the end of the 18th century

1. The material for the following study originates from the TAVO project of the University of Köln. I have the permission of Professor Peter Andrews of that university to reproduce it for the purpose of this conference. Certain symbols are used here which may need elicitation: ẓ represents an emphatic voiced interdental fricative, ḏ is the corresponding non emphatic sound. ṯ . is a voiceless interdental fricative, ġ is a voiced uvular fricative, while ǧ is the alveolar affricate reflex of Classical qāf, š is a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative while ž is its voiced counterpart and is the North African reflex of Classical jim.
2. Weir, S., 1976:3
3. Notice, incidentally, that even such a culturally central field of vocabulary as that of tents is not immune from foreign borrowing, mdaubal (from English or French 'double') exists alongside the older mgauran for 'two-poled tent" among the Ruwala. Also among the Awlād Nāil of Algeria a form gunṭās appears for "ridge shoe" said to be from the Greek kovtos "pole" or "crutch", though of what antiquity we do not know. It is not listed in Lane.
4. A classic example of this is the change from Latin coxa "hip" to French cuisse "thigh", Ullmann, 1962:242.
5. De Boucheman, 1934:113.
6. List, 1987:84.
7. A well known example being French grève "strike" from the locality Place de Grève where labourers used to congregate, Ullman, op.cit., p.218. The English word "lobby" meaning a "pressure group" is also an example, being derived from the lobbies where people used to group together in the Houses of Parliament in order to form such groups.
8. List, H., op.cit.:86.
9. The general meaning of ḏara is in fact "shelter". Within a tent context it regularly means "tent wall" which can on occasions be dispensed with. Thus to say ḏarēna or ḏarēna albēt means "we have put side walls around the tent".
10. See von Oppenheim (1952:59-60), Ingham (1986:40,61).

involving protection of a fugitive who had sought refuge at the tent of the shaikh of the tribe[1]. During the chain of events the tent was referred to by a young girl diminutively as al-buwait "little tent" as a term of endearment. Since then, because of the great honour accruing to them as a result of their protection of the fugitive, the ruling clan have been known as Āl al-buwait "Clan of the little tent" and the actual ruler as al-buwait "(he of) the little tent".

Given the wide geographical dispersion of the subject it is quite surprising that there is such a degree of uniformity in the terminology used. Perhaps this can be attributed to the physical mobility of the speakers and the fact that there is constant coming and going among members of different tribes and also across tribal boundaries. This is presumably not true between North Africa and Arabia although even across this boundary a degree of similarity exists.

A number of terms sometimes bearing slightly different meanings are extremely widespread and span the whole area, albeit with occasional gaps. Others are confined to the Eastern or Western region. One set of words are found almost everywhere and it is interesting to review them here. These are:

'amūd "pole"

Wtid "peg"

Ṭurīgah "transverse webbing strip"

Filīj "velum cloth width"

Xurb "purchase"

Ruwāg "(decorated) wall curtain or dividing-wall curtain"

The word 'amud is used universally for "pole" except in the far west in Western Morocco where a form rakīza pl. rakāyiz "pole" or "prop" is used. The form wtid "peg" was probably once used over the whole area. Note that even among the highly Persianized Shaibāni Arabs of Fārs a form [vot] is used showing the Persian change of [w] to [v], probably [watd] > [watt] > [wat] > [vat]. Nowadays in Arabia the use of mass-produced metal skewers has replaced these. These are known as mismār pl. masāmīr or ṣīx pl. ṣiyāx. My bedouin informants were however aware of the term wtid which they reserved for the original wooden "pegs" no longer in use. Otherwise the word wtid was known over the whole area except among the Awlād 'Ali of the Western desert of Egypt and in Libya where a form maṭbat was used reflecting the ṭibāt of Khuzistan and ṭibtān (presumably the plural of ṭibāt) used in Iraq.

The form ṭurīga (pronounced ṭurījah or ṭurīǧah in parts of Arabia) is almost universal for the "transverse velum girths" of the tent fabric. It is attested everywhere except in the Sudan, Sinai and Iran. Concurrently a term sīfifah occurs in Syria and among the Muqaddam of Khuzistan, used elsewhere to mean a decorated strip of webbing like material used as a decoration for instance on saddles or saddle bags[1]. A form buṭānah (usually meaning "lining") is also used for this among the Al Murrah and Manāṣīr of Eastern Arabia and also in Sinai.

For the actual velum widths of material which make up the fabric of the tent two forms are used in complementary distribution. A form filīj occurs in the far west and the far east i.e. in Morocco and Algeria as filīž and in parts of Iraq and Iran as filīy or filīj and also in Inner Arabia among the 'Utaiba and tribes of Kuwait[2] and among the Al Murra and Nu'aim of Qatar as filīj and filīy respectively. A form šiggah or šigīgah (šiǧīǧah,) occurs in the central area i.e. Northern Arabia, Jordan, Palestine, Sinai and, oddly enough, the Sudan.

The forn xurb, "purchase" or "purchase loop", parallels filij in its split distribution, occurring in Morocco and Algeria then in Northern Arabia and among the Nu'aim of Qatar. An alternative form zājil or jāzil which may mean "purchase wood", "purchase pin" or just "purchase" occurs in Libya and among the Awlād 'A1i (here showing an alternative form zāzil in accordance with a widespread phonological constraint operating in the North African dialects wherebye [z] and [ž] or [š] and [s] cannot coexist in one word), in parts of Iraq and Central Arabia[3], among the Manasir and among

1. For other versions of the story see de Landberg (1919:1-54), Glubb (1948:136-7). Dickson (1949:86).
2. Dickson (1949:86).
3. ibid.: 68
4. The form jawāzir indicating "purchase wood" given by Dickson. ibid.: 69 should probably be read jawāzil i.e. as a plural of jāzil.

the Muqaddam of Khuzistan, pronounced among the latter as yāzul. The form zājil also occurs among the Šaibāni Arabs of Fars to mean "ridge piece socket".

The form ruwāg meaning "(decorated) wall curtain" occurs everywhere except Morocco, the Sudan and Iran. As mentioned above, it is specialized in parts of Inner Arabia to mean "(decorated) dividing wall curtain".

Certain other elements have a local distribution of considerable extent, often being found also in outlying areas separated from their main focus. The form sāḥah for "(decorated) dividing wall curtain" is found generally in the area of Northern Arabia, being attested among the Ruwala, Šammar Jarba, Dhafir and the Rufai' bedouins of the Euphrates near Nāṣiriyya (the last from my own notes); also among the Bani Ṣaxar and other Jordanian tribes and in the Negev. The same word is also found among the Awlād Nāil of Algeria to mean "rear wall". The word raffah denoting the "long hanging ends of the tent fabric", when used to form end walls, parallels the distribution of the above, occurring among the North Arabian bedouin and in Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Sinai. Many Central Arabian bedouins do not form an end wall in this way, but extend the "back wall" ḥijāb or ḏara all around the tent to form an enclosing wall. Hence the concept of raffa does not exist among them. In its extended use as "men's" or "women's end of the tent" it is also recorded among the Awlād 'Ali and in Cyrenaica. A presumably related term raff pl. arfāf occurs in the Sudan to mean "corner pole" or "corner prop". A form karab occurs to mean "ridge piece" among the Awlād 'Ali and in Cyrenaica and also surprisingly among the Šaibāni Arabs of Fars. A form wāwi or wāwiyya occurs for "ridge shoe" in Palestine and Jordan which may reflect the tāwiyya of the same meaning seen in the Sudan. Forms of the type kasr or kāsir occur in the general North Arabian/Syrian area with meanings associated with the ends of the tent. Caskel has them to mean "end pole (gable)" among the North Arabian camel-rearers and in Syria and Palestine and in Iraq pronounced here as (kisir). The same meaning is give for the Bani Ḥasan and the Ahl al-Jibāl of Jordan by List. The form kasar pl. kisir means "ridge guy" among the Dhafir. List has it also to mean "front corner prop" in Northern Palestine and "end pole prop" among the Bani Ṣaxar of Jordan. In North Africa it would seem to mean "rear corner prop" among the Awlād Nāil in Algeria. In most of the above we have a case of a sub-area of the North Arabian desert including Palestine and Syria with occasional link-ups with the North African area in Algeria.

Lane[1] lists a number of these terms, although not always with specific reference to tents. The word rawāq, for instance, corresponding to ruwāg is listed with the following meanings:

- i "tent supported by one pole in the middle thereof"
- ii "a roof in the front or fore part of the tent"
- iii "curtain extended below the roof"
- iv "fore part of the tent"
- v "portico"
- vi "place that affords shelter from the rain"

None of these is exactly like the ruwāg of today's bedouin usage although iii is quite close to it in its general use as "tent wall", while iv corresponds to the area enclosed by the ruwāg when it is extended forward as a "dividing curtain" out from the front of the tent as it usually is, so as to divide the area in front of the tent also into a men's and women's section. The word sāḥah (sometimes pronounced sāḥih) is listed in its normal Standard Arabic usage as "wide space (yard)" or "part of the house in which there is no roof". Here one can see how this word came to be used for the "(dividing) wall curtain" which delineated that area, as also occurred with raffah meaning "end wall". One is presuming here that the meaning "house" is prior to the meaning "tent" for bait in Arabic. If, as in one view[2], large scale nomadism in Arabia began around the beginning of the 1st millenium B.C., then the sedentary "house" would obviously be prior to the nomadic "house". The words xurb "purchase" and karab "ridge piece" both occur with meanings which reflect their tent meanings though less so in the case of karab. Xurb is listed as "hole", "perforation", "bore", "eye of the needle" or "loop of the leather bags called mazādah "i.e. some sort of hole in the tent fabric through which the guy rope is passed. Karab is listed as "the rope which is tied to the bucket after the manin which is the first rope so that it remains if the latter breaks". Here we can see its origin in some sort of supporting or secondary element to support the main fabric of the tent. The words watad and 'amūd are of course well known in their basic meanings of "peg" and "pole" or "column". Guṭbah is not listed with any meaning approximating to "ridge shoe", but may have

1. Lane. 1863.
2. EI. 'Badw': 881. See also Musil (1928: 304-319).

come from its basic meaning of "axis, pivot, pole" in reference to its position at the pinnacle of the tent. He also gives fariqah as "a web or thing woven, sewed in place where the šaqāq [or oblong pieces of cloth that compose the main covering of the tent] meet."

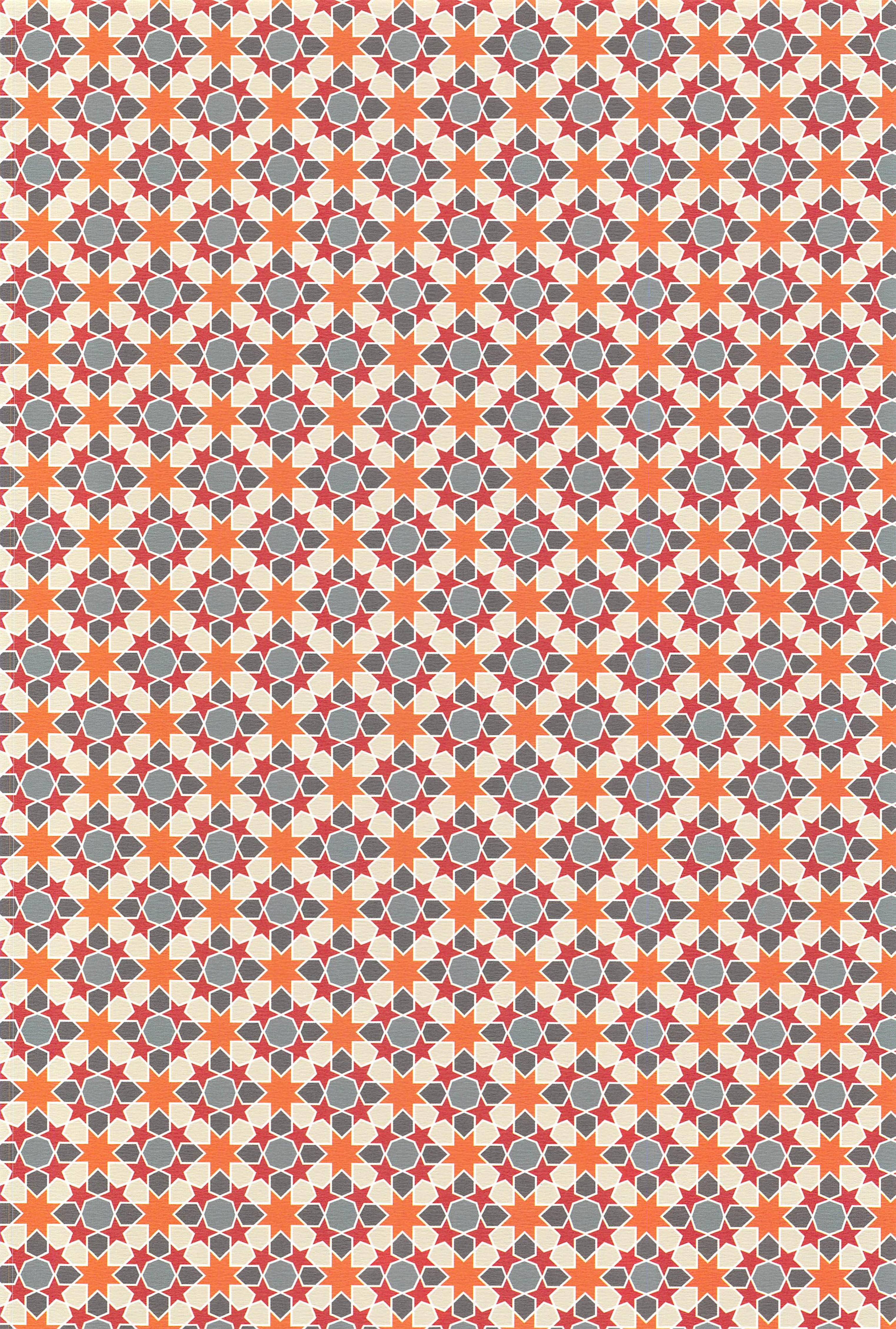
The traditional classification of semantic change, as shown for instance by Ullmann[1], is into metaphor (similarity of sense), metonomy (contiguity of senses), ellipsis (contiguity of names) and popular etymology (similarity of names). We can easily see examples of the first three when examining this material. The fourth is less easy to discern as we have very little time depth in our knowledge of the spoken dialects or the way of life of the nomads, though it may be that the existence of the form wjār "fire hearth" among the Rufai' bedouin of the Euphrates, and among bedouin in the area of Kuwait[2] presumably from the Turkish ocak "hearth", pronounced [ojaq], (compare Dhafir wjāġ) is a case in point. This would involve the notion that in the area the sound [r] was pronounced [ġ] or [q] in the old urban dialect as is still seen in the dialect of Northern Iraq and among the religious minorities of the south[3] and hence the original Turkish [q] is reinterpreted as [r]. This is of course a case of phonological change by folk etymology rather than semantic change, but serves to show the principle. The first (metaphor) is shown in such anthropomorphic uses as yad "hand" for "front guy rope", (see above p.36). The second (metonomy) can be seen in the majority of changes of meaning from one object to an object associated perhaps spatially with it, such as the use of raffah "end wall" to mean the area enclosed by it. The same word when used to mean "men's end of the tent" shows the third type by ellipsis from raffat al-rijāl.

To conclude, we may note that the Middle Eastern tent is an interesting subject for structural linguistic comparison in that we have an object composed of various essential component elements which have to be referred to and where nevertheless the cognitive grouping or definition of these elements can change with linguistic drift, and where, also, the words used may shift in their reference from one component element to another. Well known examples of this are comparisons of colour classification systems in different languages or the examples of shift in meaning location for names of parts of the body as shown above (p. 36 footnote 4). This type of drift -associated process can be easily seen to occur with tent terminology. It is true that the component parts of the tent are not absolutely uniform throughout the area, as we have seen in the differences between the North African and Arabian types, and, to a lesser extent, between North and South Arabian types. Nevertheless there is enough uniformity to make such a study fruitful.

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1. Ullmann op cit : 223.
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3. (1964: passim).



PATRIMOINE : UNE FICTION DU PRESENT ?



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Le patrimoine est un terme riche en significations. Dans cet article je m'intéresse surtout aux liens existant entre ethnologie et histoire et les rapports que le patrimoine entretient avec le temps présent. L'ethnologie, par sa méthode, fait appel à la tradition orale. L'histoire, en recourant à la mémoire, participe pleinement de la notion de patrimoine. Mon travail de recherche en anthropologie sur le Qatar depuis une trentaine d'années, ainsi que mon expérience muséographique, m'ont permis de suivre l'évolution de la société. Aussi ai-je pu constater l'œuvre de la mémoire, les représentations dont le patrimoine était l'objet, et les effets de ces représentations sociales au cours de ce temps.

La notion de « patrimoine » est très large même si on essaie de la réduire au patrimoine naturel ou au patrimoine culturel. De plus elle a une histoire, car de nos jours elle a pris une extension plus large que dans le passé. Je n'étendrai pas la définition jusqu'au domaine particulier de la propriété privée et de sa transmission. Je me limiterai à la notion de patrimoine culturel collectif comme étant définie par l'Etat qui met en place des institutions compétentes destinées à la protection, au développement, à la recherche, à la connaissance, et adopte des lois pour la protection des objets de patrimoine matériel et immatériel. Une notion équivalente dans sa définition est généralement employée dans les pays arabes : *al-turâth*. Selon Irène Maffi (2003, p.88) qui reprend des termes émis lors d'un colloque, il s'agit de « l'héritage matériel et spirituel laissé par les civilisations… » ; cela comprendrait tout autant les vestiges antiques, les us et coutumes, l'histoire, éventuellement la littérature, le droit, etc. On voit là qu'un sens très large peut être apporté au terme « *turâth* », comme il l'est aussi au terme de « patrimoine ».

Dès le début des années soixante-dix, chacun des pays arabes du Golfe a exprimé sa volonté de définir une identité culturelle. Ceci allait de paire avec l'aspiration à la construction de l'Etat-nation. Il semble, en effet, que la notion de patrimoine soit intimement liée à la construction de l'identité nationale. Le patrimoine contribuant à inculquer l'idée d'une culture partagée.

Identité culturelle maritime ou pastorale ?

Faisant suite à cette construction identitaire, dans les années quatre-vingt, le Gulf Cooperation Council a opté pour une identité

culturelle maritime propre à l'ensemble des pays arabes du Golfe. Cette décision prise par les membres du GCC résulterait de l'activité perlière qui fut une des principales activités de la région. Activité, vue tout autant au plan économique, au plan des savoir-faire techniques des pêcheurs, des marins, des marchands, des constructeurs de bateaux, etc., que par la richesse culturelle qu'elle a engendrée.

Pourtant ma connaissance approfondie du Qatar m'autorise à contester ce choix pour ce pays. Cela m'a amené a rechercher les arguments avancés à l'encontre de l'autre activité importante dans la région : le pastoralisme nomade. Deux idées majeures très répandues résultent de ce rejet : la première est le bannissement du nomadisme ; la seconde correspond à une certaine idée de l'évolution des sociétés, empruntée aux écrits d' Ibn Khaldun. Brièvement selon ce modèle, les sociétés seraient passées de la vie nomade à la vie sédentaire ; et ce sont les sédentaires qui auraient apporté la civilisation. Ce schéma eut la vie longue car on le retrouve jusqu'au début du XXe siècle en Europe. Depuis plusieurs décennies, des recherches approfondies sur les techniques pastorales ont permis de remettre en cause ce modèle. En réalité, le pastoralisme nomade résultait de techniques d'élevage adaptées à l'environnement naturel, et il avait développé un système social, économique et culturel en propre.

Péninsule dans la péninsule, le Qatar représentait une ouverture pour les pasteurs nomades à la recherche de pâturages selon les saisons. Cette ouverture a contribué à l'établissement progressif de nombreuses tribus de pasteurs nomades. Parmi elles, les membres de familles participaient à l'industrie perlière, comme pêcheurs, le plus souvent. Certaines familles se sont aussi spécialisées dans le commerce des perles. Toutefois, ces marchands de perles d'origine bédouine avaient une vision particulière de l'activité commerciale, que ne partageaient pas d'autres marchands de métier ouverts à toutes sortes de négoces, depuis les produits d'épicerie à l'échange monétaire.

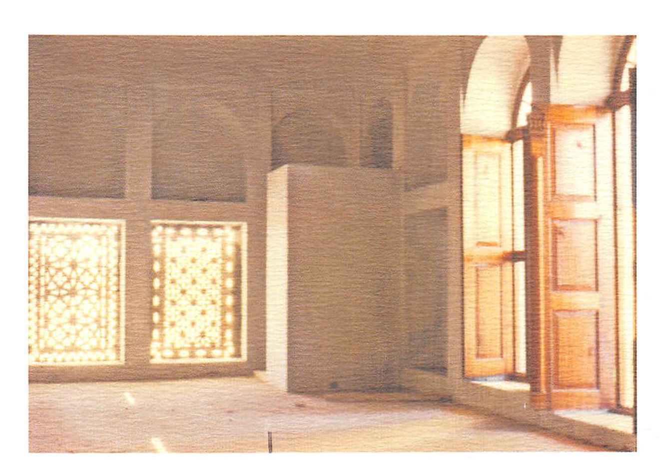
C'est dans le contexte de la mise en valeur d'une identité culturelle unificatrice qu'ont été organisées, dès le début des années soixante-dix, y compris au Qatar, les premières manifestations culturelles populaires (*al-turâth al-sha'abî*) permettant d'évoquer le patrimoine bédouin (*al-turâth al-'arabî*), et le patrimoine maritime (*al-turâth al-bahrî*).

A vrai dire ces manifestations culturelles qui sont toujours d'actualité, expriment l'aspect populaire du *turâth*. Mais elles sont très éloignées des réalités sociales et historiques du passé. Elles valorisent une création mémorielle festive. Le patrimoine peut en effet être montré, présenté, évoqué, raconté, de diverses manières selon les publics auxquels il est adressé.

Car une mise à distance est toujours établie entre les réalités sociales et les publics ; au même titre qu'une distance est instaurée, de fait, par l'histoire, entre le passé et le présent. Le rapprochement effectué entre histoire et mémoire a certes favorisé une certaine tradition orale qui a enrichi la connaissance. Mais comme le rappelle F. Hartog (2012 : p. 248-50) le patrimoine est peut-être davantage lié au présent, un présent qui se fabrique à la fois sur du passé et du futur ; le futur étant une anticipation du regard porté sur le présent.

Histoire ou mémoire du passé ?

Je suis particulièrement sensible à cette notion de distance créée entre les réalités sociales et les expressions qui en sont données. Cette distance est tout autant le résultat d'une démarche consciente quand il s'agit de rendre compte de réalités scientifiques présentées dans un espace muséographique par exemple. Elle peut aussi être issue d'une expression inconsciente, diffuse, lorsque le temps ayant fait son œuvre, les réalités sociales passent par le filtre de la mémoire. Ainsi le passé, réactivé au présent, est réinterprété avec sa part d'oubli. Toutefois, la réinterprétation doit être acceptée par la collectivité afin de lui donner toute sa cohérence et l'inscrire dans une continuité de temps. C'est une sorte de quête identitaire qui correspond aux idées du temps présent et qui redonnent une nouvelle vigueur à l'interprétation. C'est ce que l'on nomme les représentations d'une société qui s'articulent dans un ensemble de références partagées en commun.





Quelques exemples serviront mon propos. Jusque dans les années quatre-vingt nombres de Qataris d'origine tribale refusaient l'usage du narguilé fabriqué en terre, le *guidû*, d'origine iranienne, afin de ne pas faire peser de doute sur leur origine. Durant quelques années j'ai observé, parmi ceux qui souhaitaient s'adonner au plaisir du narguilé qu'ils adoptaient le modèle répandu chez les Arabes du sud de l'Arabie, *al-shraq*, de taille élevée et fait en métal. Ils avaient trouvé là une manière de se distinguer socialement, la période étant marquée par un cloisonnement social. La différence est nette depuis la rénovation du souk où la plupart des cafés offrent le *guidû* pour fumer : les Qataris n'ont plus cette sorte de réticence. Cet exemple montre que les objets ne se réduisent pas toujours à leur seule fonction initiale, car celle-ci peut évoluer au cours du temps selon les usages qui en sont faits et les discours auxquels ils sont soumis. J'ai également noté lors d'une interview réalisée au sein d'une famille, qu'une femme âgée fumait la chicha. C'était une pratique jadis courante dans certains lieux de la rive iranienne du Golfe. De nos jours, je constate que le terme « chicha » est très répandu, y compris dans la langue française et qu'il a remplacé le mot « narguilé » reconnu comme étant plus littéraire.

A travers les bijoux comme objets de patrimoine, d'autres aspects de la complexité de ce sujet méritent d'être évoqués. Mes observations et mes études (Montigny, 1998 ; 2013) m'ont amené à la conclusion qu'il était impossible de déterminer l'origine ethnique ou géographique locale de la plupart des pièces en argent existant dans les collections du musée national du Qatar. Les raisons étant que depuis certains lieux majeurs de fabrication artisanale (Arabie du sud, Oman, Yémen), ces objets ont circulé grâce aux échanges et aux mouvements de populations. Il en a résulté des emprunts techniques et décoratifs. Certaines pièces eurent des fonctions spécifiques lorsqu'elles étaient attribuées à une personne (souvent un enfant) dans un but prophylactique, ou de témoignage social, comme la naissance d'un garçon. Progressivement ces fonctions ont disparu pour ne valoriser que la richesse familiale et l'esthétisme. Une fois établis dans un lieu particulier, les porteurs de ces parures pouvaient eux-mêmes influencer d'autres artisans bijoutiers, du fait des modèles importés ou de motifs demandés en propre. Car les bijoux transmis entre parents étaient soit utilisés tels quels, soit fondus





par un bijoutier afin d'être mis au goût du jour. Dès lors, comment déterminer une origine ? Afin de contourner le problème, on doit se limiter aux usages. Avec le temps, c'est l'usage qui fera référence.

Un autre exemple permet de souligner la complexité de la notion de patrimoine culturel et le rôle de la mémoire dans la réactivation, la conservation, la sélection, ou la disparition de ses composantes. Jusqu'à la fin des années soixante-dix, beaucoup d'anciens pêcheurs de perles évoquaient deux personnages à l'origine de cette activité : une femme, May et un homme, Ghilân. Mais je ne trouvais personne pour me conter ce qui m'apparaissait comme un mythe d'origine de la pêche des perles. Finalement, par hasard, à Al Khor, un homme me l'a récité en entier (Montigny, 2004). Quelques années plus tard, une jeune journaliste qatarie à qui j'avais raconté cette histoire, a cherché à voir si des habitants d'al Khor en avaient encore connaissance. Ses enquêtes n'ont rien donné. Ceci confirme que le patrimoine s'inscrit dans la mémoire vivante pour exister. Nous savons également que la mémoire n'est pas inerte : divers phénomènes contribuent à l'activer. Un concours de dessins fut organisé par l'ancien Directeur des antiquités et des musées, M. Jassim Zayni, auprès d'écoliers auxquels l'histoire fut récitée. De manière à diversifier les supports muséographiques sur le thème de la pêche des perles, une sélection de dessins devait servir d'illustrations à ce mythe, - originaire d'Al Khor - dans le musée en construction (de 1987 à 1990). Se pourrait-il que des anciens écoliers en aient le souvenir ?

Conserver ? Restaurer ?

La préservation des sites historiques, notamment, résulte d'expertises scientifiques et techniques et de codifications émises par les instances de l'Etat. Toutefois il peut exister des représentations diversifiées sur les méthodes et les moyens mis en œuvre. Le cas le plus célèbre est celui de la reconstruction périodique (planifiée et à l'identique) de certains bâtiments religieux au Japon. Comme le rappelle F. Hartog (2012 : pp. 210-211), la politique culturelle japonaise diffère de l'orientation occidentale qui est de « conserver ou restaurer ». Son principal souci n'est « ni la visibilité des objets, ni l'entretien de cette visibilité. Sa logique est celle de l'actualisation d'un savoir-faire qui se transmet justement en s'actualisant ».

Au Qatar, tout comme dans les autres pays arabes du Golfe, beaucoup de vestiges ont disparu dans le contexte de la modernisation. Depuis peu, le Qatar a fait le choix de reconstruire une part de son patrimoine architectural. La reconstruction donne une certaine idée de continuité patrimoniale dans le temps, mais il s'agit davantage d'une analogie puisque cette architecture n'est jamais conforme à l'original. En poussant plus loin la logique nous devons nous demander s'il a jamais existé une continuité de forme, de style, etc.

Ainsi, une seule maison à tour à vent (*badqir*) subsiste. Elle avait été transformée en musée ethnographique, (1981-82), après avoir bénéficié d'une restauration. A cette occasion, pour agrémenter certains espaces, les maçons ont ajouté des claustras qui n'existaient pas à l'origine. Une méthode muséographique stricte nécessiterait une indication à ce sujet. Si même l'histoire de cette maison était écrite, il faudrait rappeler que la tour à vent, elle-même, fut ajoutée bien après à la maison d'origine, par l'ancien propriétaire. Le sens donné au patrimoine étant lié à une perception du présent, rappelons que l'intérêt porté à cet ancien dispositif d'aération est né de sa réinterprétation comme élément architectural contemporain, destiné à l'université de Doha. De la sorte l'image passéiste transmise par l'ancienne tour à vent disparaissait.

En 1976, l'ancienne cité de Wakra, était en ruine. Quelques années plus tard, un certain nombre de maisons avaient été rasées et remplacées par un parc afin de ne plus laisser apparaître le délabrement. En 2010, le village patrimonial en construction sur une part des traces de l'ancienne cité semble chercher à susciter une mémoire des lieux. Ce nouvel espace patrimonial illustre la manière dont le passé a été réapproprié au cours de ces dernières années. Je m'interroge cependant sur l'image passéiste qui est transmise et quelles réalités les Qataris vont-ils y trouver ? Cette question se pose tout autant sur la destination du quartier Musheirib à Doha.

Les localités, et tout particulièrement Musheirib, amènent à examiner l'image qu'elle transmette selon une autre perspective : la structure urbaine comme espace patrimonial. Le centre de Doha était composé d'une trame spatiale dont la structure est désormais effacée[1]. En fait, il témoigne d'un choix de rénovation

1. Remarque faite par l'architecte (DEPV) V. Katelbach qui a réalisé de nombreux projets dans le cadre du bureau d'urbanisme de Doha dès 1975.

urbaine où la perception de l'histoire n'est pas inscrite dans l'espace. Différemment, le souk a conservé cette vision historique dans sa structure et dans la proportion des constructions.

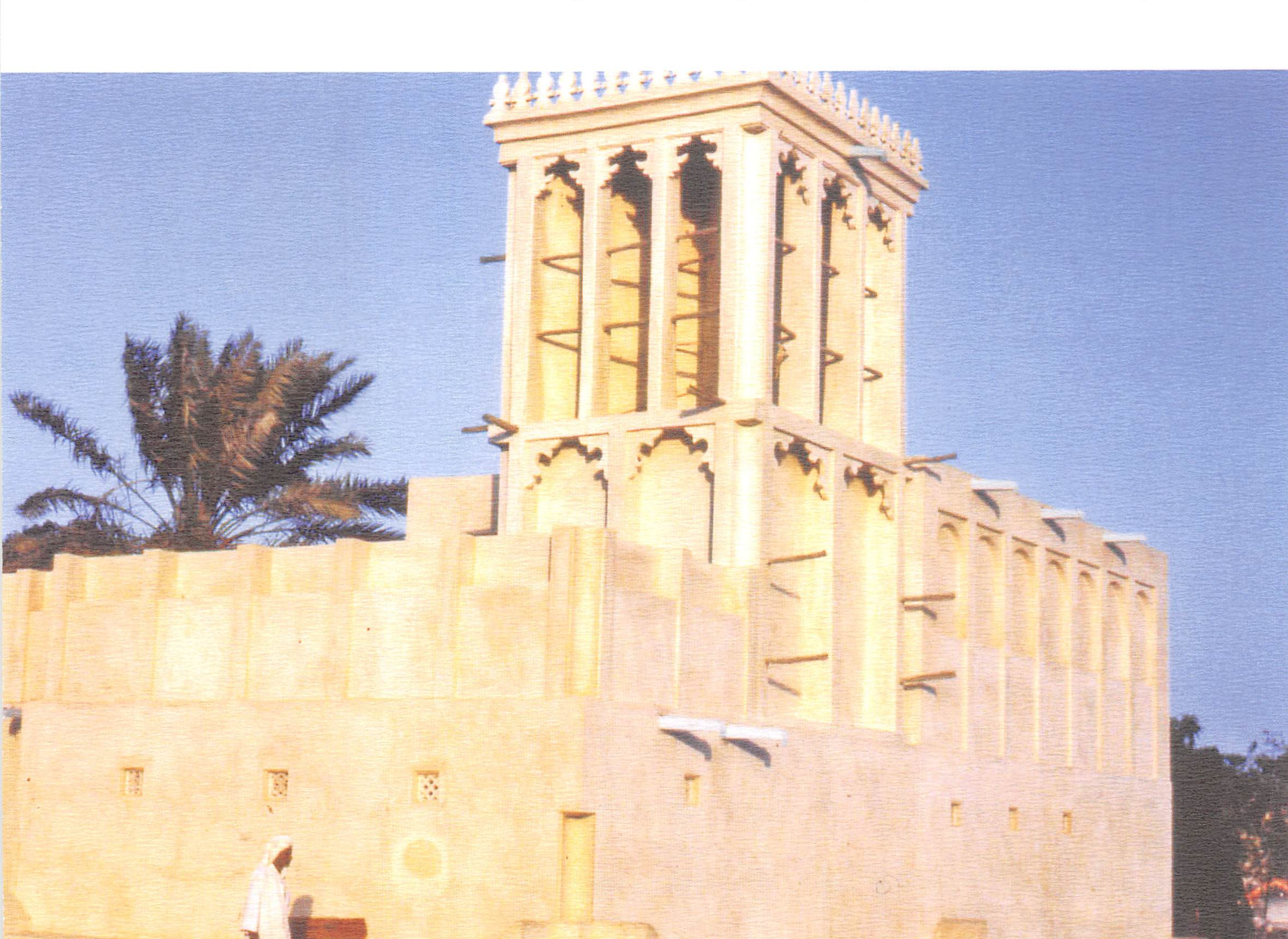
Dans tous les cas, destruction et reconstruction ont chacune une portée symbolique. Si la première action, par l'effacement matériel des traces du passé, donne l'idée d'un oubli d'un temps où les conditions de vie étaient difficiles, la seconde phase valorise le renouvellement de la vie. Les écrits demeurent cependant. Nasser Al-Othman (1984) a fait le portrait de ces générations de Qataris qui ont œuvré à la construction du pays. Une histoire des pays du Golfe dans leur diversité, éditée par L. G. Potter (2009), constitue une base essentielle à la connaissance du patrimoine.

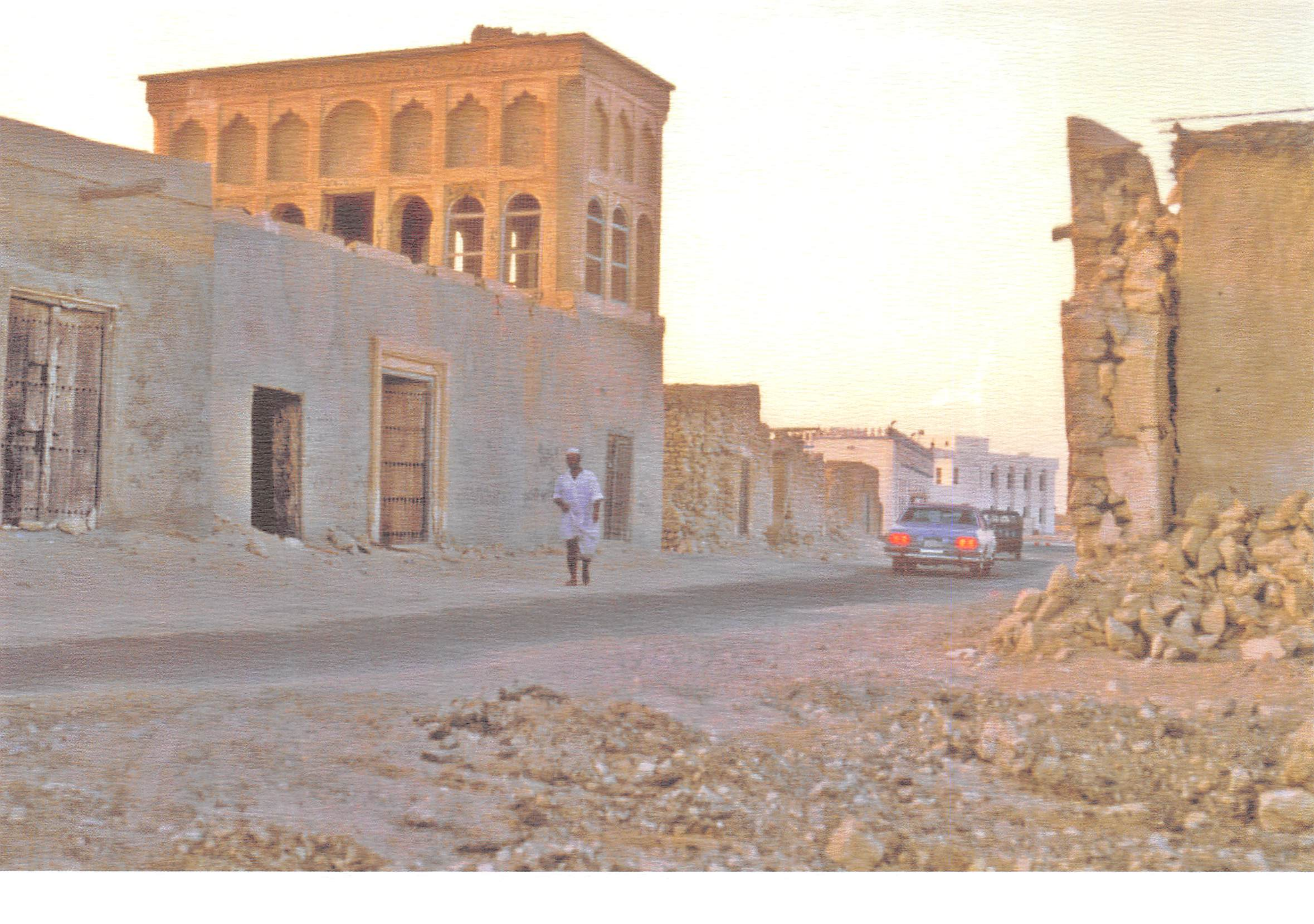
Patrimoine et mondialisation

L'affirmation d'une perte d'identité culturelle face à la mondialisation exprime une crainte fortement ressentie par les populations dans les pays arabes du Golfe. La mondialisation (ou globalisation) fait référence au caractère multidimensionnel des réseaux d'échanges et ses conséquences sur la cohésion et la perception identitaire. Je citerai deux effets pouvant se manifester : le renforcement de la conscience de la différence, la cristallisation d'une représentation de la nation. C'est un vaste débat, très complexe, du fait de l'importance des migrations de travailleurs qui oeuvrent au développement du pays d'accueil.

Au plan culturel, historiens et ethnologues considèrent que les échanges ne se limitent pas à l'économie, car ils incluent les hommes, les idées, les marchandises. Inexorablement les influences extérieures affectent et reconfigurent la culture locale. Au Qatar, l'alimentation en est un parfait exemple.

J'évoquerai certains témoignages qui renvoient aux réalités sociales et historiques du Golfe. Les collections du musée national contiennent nombres d'objets susceptibles d'être classés comme « patrimoine industriel », voire, extérieurs à la tradition qatarie. Pourtant ils illustrent certaines réalités de l'histoire locale. Ces objets, exposés dans le musée avant sa rénovation, représentaient les possessions de l'ancien Shaykh Abdallah b. Jassim Al Thânî, notamment : horloge,





cannes de soutien, fauteuil roulant, radio, assiettes en porcelaine, objets décoratifs, etc. Les réserves du nouveau musée national contiennent encore du mobilier et de l'équipement domestique venant d'Inde, d'Iran, d'Europe, de Chine… : armoire, coffres, ustensile à fabriquer de la glace, récipients en fer blanc et émaillé, etc.

Le muséographe est amené à se questionner quand il envisage de présenter cet ensemble qui relève de la période historique dite moderne. Comment en rendre compte lorsqu'une telle collection est juxtaposée avec, par exemple, les équipements domestiques quotidiens issus des milieux sédentaires et nomades locaux, plus riches en patrimoines immatériels que matériels. En effet les équipements en usage acquis localement, étaient souvent rustiques. Différemment, les objets provenant d'Europe ou d'Inde avec lesquels les pays du Golfe entretenaient des relations d'échange avaient un caractère de nouveauté ou de luxe, et étaient en usage chez les familles les plus riches. Le contraste entre ces deux catégories d'objets peut paraître fort, voire sans lien avec la culture patrimoniale du pays pour ceux dont la connaissance historique est insuffisante.

Les changements sociaux rapides dont le Qatar fut le témoin interviennent aussi dans la compréhension et le regard portés sur les objets. Ils provoquent la sensation d'une discontinuité du temps, avec des accélérations, jusqu'à des pertes de repères. Ceci agit sur la mémoire et sur le processus cognitif de la relation à l'objet. Certaines personnes auront la sensation d'un lien encore proche du fait qu'elles ont encore le souvenir de ces objets ; ou elles pourraient avoir la volonté de les rejeter à cause de leur aspect désuet, ou de leur non conformité à l'idée qu'elles se font du patrimoine.

Jusque récemment une coupure était instaurée entre le passé et le présent. Le passé était associé à la tradition, elle-même représentée comme une permanence du temps. Au présent était attribué un sens de modernité. Cette dichotomie ne reflète guère la réalité de la société qatarie. En effet la tradition ne constitue pas un ensemble abstrait, une cohérence et une permanence de faits socio-culturels transmis de générations en générations. Elle présente des variations dans les pratiques et les systèmes de pensée, de sorte qu'elle peut être exprimée par des valeurs familiales par exemple, alors même que les jeunes femmes n'adoptent plus les parures privilégiées par les générations précédentes.

Conclusion

Comme on l'a vu, la notion de patrimoine est large. Elle résulte des représentations renouvelées au cours du temps. La destination dévolue au patrimoine peut varier cependant. Il peut contribuer à l'avancement des connaissances par des écrits, des expositions, exprimer la contemplation esthétique, la mémorisation de savoir-faire, de gestuelles, d'expressions orales… Si la notion de patrimoine répond au statut que les instances gouvernementales lui attribuent, peut-on lui assimiler les événements culturels populaires qui sont des inventions d'un passé idéalisé, festif, commercial, au service des patrimoines bédouin et maritime ? De quelle manière ces événements participent-ils de l'identité culturelle qatarie ou de la mémoire collective ?

Une question demeure : les Qataris sont-ils soucieux de la disparition d'une part de leur patrimoine matériel et immatériel ?

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